DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 357 437 EA 024 845

AUTHOR	Murphy, Joseph, Ed.; Hallinger, Philip, Ed.
TITLE	Restructuring Schooling: Learning from Ongoing Efforts.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-8039-6061-1
PUB DATE	93
NOTE	295p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Corwin Press, Inc., 2455 Teller Road, Newbury Park, CA 91320 (ISBN-0-8039-6061-1--paperback; ISBN-0-8039-6060-3--hardcover).
PUB TYPE	Books (010) -- Information Analyses (070)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Administrator Role; Educational Change; Elementary Secondary Education; *Leadership Styles; *Organizational Climate; Outcomes of Education; *Participative Decision Making; *School Restructuring; Student Participation; *Teacher Administrator Relationship; *Teacher Role

ABSTRACT

Popular demands for school restructuring are increasingly common. This book is designed for diverse audiences who are interested in school improvement. Chapter 1, "Restructuring: In Search of a Movement" (Joseph Murphy), provides a historical and conceptual framework of restructuring efforts. Chapter 2, "Feeling the Ripples, Riding the Waves" (Nona Prestine), examines the implications of the Coalition of Essential Schools in California. Chapter 3, "Hollibrook Accelerated Elementary School" (Jane McCarthy and Suzanne Still), surveys community and teacher attitudes at the Hollibrook school. Chapter 4, "Success for All" (Robert Slavin and others), offers case studies of urban schools. Chapter 5, "The Changing Role of the Principal in a School of Choice" (Philip Hallinger and Charles Hausman), inspects principals' leadership roles in restructuring. Chapter 6, "Coordinating School and District Development in Restructuring" (Michael Fullan), analyzes the roles of districts and schools. Chapter 7, "Restructuring Schools Through Empowerment" (Paula Short and John Greer), illustrates the importance of staff empowerment in reform. Chapter 8, "Restructuring Systemically for Students" (Jaci Webb, H. Dickson Corbett, and Bruce Wilson), explores the nature of student participation in restructuring. Chapter 9, "Professional Cultures and Reforming Schools" (Karen Louis and Jean King), documents the importance of structured time. Chapter 10, "Restructuring Schools" (Joseph Murphy and Philip Hallinger), offers informative lessons from current restructuring efforts. (TEJ)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED357437

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvemen
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATIO
CENTER (ERIC)
✓ This document has been reproduced a received from the person or organizatio originating it
☐ Minor changes have been made to improv reproduction quality
- Points of view or opinions stated in this docu ment do not necessarily represent officia OERI position or policy

Editors
Joseph Murphy
Philip Hallinger

Restructuring Schooling

Learning From Ongoing Efforts

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN OTHER THAN PAPER COPY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
G. Albema
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

EA 024 845

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

5A

Restructuring Schooling

Dedicated to Jane Alison Hale

Editors
Joseph Murphy
Philip Hallinger

Restructuring Schooling

Learning From Ongoing Efforts

CORWIN PRESS, INC.
A Sage Publications Company
Newbury Park, California

Copyright © 1993 by Corwin Press, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

For information address:

Corwin Press, Inc.
A Sage Publications Company
2455 Teller Road
Newbury Park, California 91320

SAGE Publications Ltd.
6 Bonhill Street
London EC2A 4PU
United Kingdom

SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd.
M-32 Market
Greater Kailash I
New Delhi 110 048 India

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Restructuring schooling : learning from ongoing efforts / edited by
Joseph Murphy, Philip Hallinger.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-8039-6060-3.—ISBN 0-8039-6061-1 (pbk.)
1. Educational change—United States—Case studies. 2. School
management and organization—United States—Case studies.
I. Murphy, Joseph, 1949- . II. Hallinger, Philip. 1952-
LA217.2.R47 1993
370'.973—dc20 92-39720
CIP

93 94 95 96 97 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Corwin Press Production Editor: Tara S. Mead

Contents

Preface vii

About the Authors xi

1. Restructuring: *In Search of a Movement* 1
JOSEPH MURPHY

2. Feeling the Ripples, Riding the Waves: *Making an Essential School* 32
NONA A. PRESTINE

3. Hollibrook Accelerated Elementary School 63
JANE McCARTHY and SUZANNE STILL

4. Success for All: *Three Case Studies of Comprehensive Restructuring of Urban Elementary Schools* 84
ROBERT E. SLAVIN, NANCY A. MADDEN, ALTA H. SHAW
K. LYNNE MAINZER, and MARY C. DONNELLY

5. The Changing Role of the Principal in a School of Choice 114
PHILIP HALLINGER and CHARLES HAUSMAN

6. Coordinating School and District Development in Restructuring 143
MICHAEL G. FULLAN

7. Restructuring Schools Through Empowerment 165
PAULA M. SHORT and JOHN T. GREER

8. Restructuring Systemically for Students: *Can It Be More Than Just Talk?* 188
JACI WEBB, H. DICKSON CORBETT, and BRUCE L. WILSON

9. Professional Cultures and Reforming Schools: *Does the Myth of Sisyphus Apply?* 216
KAREN SEASHORE LOUIS and JEAN A. KING

10. Restructuring Schooling: *Learning From Ongoing Efforts* 251
JOSEPH MURPHY and PHILIP HALLINGER

Author Index 273

Subject Index 277

Preface

Since the early 1980s, the United States has been engaged in a decade of unbroken efforts to reform its educational system. Beginning in the mid- to late-1980s, however, these initiatives took on a distinctly different character. Based on critiques from educators—both academics and practitioners—and other stakeholders—primarily businesspersons and politicians—the mandated, centralizing improvement strategies that dominated the reform agenda in the early 1980s fell into disfavor. In their place came approaches designed to empower parents and teachers and to transfer control of education to local communities. This second wave of reform has become known as the restructuring movement. Its advocates have focused on issues such as choice and voice for parents, empowerment for teachers, school-based management for both, and, to a lesser extent, changes in the learning-teaching process. It has paralleled, in many respects, educational reforms that are unfolding in nations throughout the industrialized world.

Our understanding of this restructuring phenomenon remains somewhat cloudy, however. While there is a growing body of conceptual work in the area, empirical studies are more difficult to locate. In particular, longitudinal analyses of attempts to improve schooling via restructuring strategies are conspicuous by their absence. This volume is designed to help fill those gaps. Each of the case studies presented herein describes the experience of a single school—or related set of schools—that has been involved in restructuring for 3 or more years. Individually and collectively, they provide valuable information about educational improvement via restructuring initiatives. They examine the difficulties as well as the possibilities. Policy implications as well as tactical and strategy guidelines become increasingly clear as each successive case study unfolds. Yet, because these studies are really stories, we never lose sight of the fact that implications and guidelines are grounded in the lives of the individual women and men who are being asked to radically overhaul the way they conduct "schooling." Furthermore, because the tales these authors relate are longitudinal in nature, we are able to track the evolution in the beliefs, thoughts, values, and actions of these pioneering educators.

The core of the volume comprises eight case studies. The names of the authors and the titles of their restructuring projects will be known to many. This should not be surprising given that our primary goal was to have researchers who are doing cutting-edge empirical work in the area contribute to the volume. Other objectives guided the selection of cases as well. We were interested in chronicling stories from some of the more networked approaches to restructuring (e.g., Accelerated Schools, Coalition of Essential Schools) as well as more site-specific endeavors. We searched for authors who were, wherever possible, personally invested in the restructuring initiative. That is, we wanted to combine the advantages that accrue from a more detached scholarly analysis with reflective insights that can only emerge from personal involvement. Finally, we selected studies that would provide an integrated set of stories and that would, in turn, offer useful insights to others involved with the restructuring of schooling.

The book begins with an in-depth examination of the school restructuring movement, tracking its history, components, and foundational underpinnings. It concludes with an analysis of the guidance provided by the case studies in Chapters 2 through 9 to others who wish to more effectively restructure their own schools. The eight case studies are presented as follows. In Chapter 2, Nona Prestine describes the struggle to create an Essential School at Broadmoor Junior High School in Pekin, Illinois. Next, Jane McCarthy and Suzanne Still chronicle the transformation of Hollibrook Elementary School in Houston from a run-down "dumper school" to a model Accelerated School. Robert Slavin, Nancy Madden, Alta Shaw, K. Lynne Mainzer, and Mary Donnelly then turn our attention to the development of three Success for All (SFA) schools in Baltimore, including Abbottston Elementary, the SFA pilot school. In Chapter 5, Philip Hallinger and Charles Hausman discuss the effects of a school choice initiative over 5 years at a suburban elementary school in the eastern United States. Michael Fullan then tracks school-district connections in school restructuring by relating activities at Frontenac Elementary School (to the west of Toronto) with the work of the Learning Consortium. In Chapter 7, Paula Short and John Greer detail the evolution of Crestview Elementary School (in a southern U.S. university town) within the context of the Empowered Schools Project. While the avenue into restructuring in the Hallinger and Hausman case is choice, here it is teacher professionalism. The unique contribution of the Jaci Webb, Dick Corbett, and Bruce Wilson case is its focus on perspectives on restructuring across levels of the educational system, from statehouse to student. Finally, in Chapter 9, Karen Seashore Louis and Jean King provide powerful insights about restructuring from two newly created middle schools, one in the Northeast and the other on the West Coast.

The book was designed to speak to diverse audiences who are interested in school improvement. We believe that it will appeal equally well to those who study school restructuring and to those who are engaged in restructuring projects at the school, district, and state levels. There is much here that will be of interest to teachers and teacher educators, including perspectives on the evolving roles of classroom teachers, the connections among alterations in learning and teaching and the organization and governance of schools, the complexity of developing a collaborative culture, and so forth. Those who come to restructuring from school administration will, we believe, be drawn to the thoughtful discussions in these chapters of the new social dynamics involved in leading transformational change efforts. It should be particularly useful to school principals. Policymakers at all levels will discover in these fine-grained analyses a good deal of wisdom about how to develop facilitative structures for locally based improvement efforts. Scholars in the area of school improvement will uncover in these cases much that reinforces and extends our understanding of this complex activity. The volume should appeal especially to those educators who are involved with the professional development aspects of restructuring, particularly those seeking information about ways to help schools develop the capacity for sustained growth. Finally, anyone interested in the critically important task of rethinking the preparation of teachers and administrators to work in tomorrow's schools will gain from the insights that fill these pages.

I would like to thank all of the authors who contributed to this project. It is their work that made this book possible. I would also like to acknowledge Cheryl McClure for her thoughtful preparation of the beginning and concluding chapters. She lightened my load considerably. Finally, I want to thank my very good friend, Jane Alison Hale, to whom this volume is dedicated. Her gifted editorial support over the last 15 years has been of immeasurable assistance.

Joseph Murphy

About the Authors

H. Dickson Corbett is the Co-Director of the Applied Research Project at Research for Better Schools.

Mary C. Donnelly is a vice principal in the Baltimore City Public Schools.

Michael G. Fullan is Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto.

John T. Greer is Professor of Educational Leadership at Georgia State University.

Philip Hallinger is Associate Professor of Educational Leadership and Director of the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Leadership at Peabody College of Vanderbilt University.

Charles Hausman is a doctoral student in the Department of Educational Leadership at Peabody College of Vanderbilt University.

Jean A. King is Director of the Center for Applied Research and Educational Improvement (CAREI) in the College of Education, University of Minnesota. Her research interests include long-term school change, action research, and evaluation use.

Karen Seashore Louis is Professor and Chair of Educational Policy and Administration at the University of Minnesota. Her current research interests focus on school improvement and teachers' work lives.

Nancy A. Madden is Principal Research Scientist at the Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students at Johns Hopkins University.

K. Lynne Mainzer is Program Facilitator for the Success for All program at Johns Hopkins University.

Jane McCarthy is Associate Professor in the Department of Instructional and Curricular Studies at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, and Director of the UNLV Accelerated Schools Satellite Center Project.

Joseph Murphy is Professor and Chair of the Department of Educational Leadership at Peabody College of Vanderbilt University.

Nona A. Prestine is Assistant Professor of Educational Administration at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Alta H. Shaw is Program Facilitator for the Success for All program at Johns Hopkins University.

Paula M. Short is Associate Professor of Educational Leadership at The Pennsylvania State University.

Robert E. Slavin is Co-Director of the Early and Elementary School Program at the Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students at Johns Hopkins University.

Suzanne Still is the Director of the Texas A&M Accelerated Schools Collaborative Network.

Jaci Webb is Research Associate with the Applied Research Project at Research for Better Schools.

Bruce L. Wilson is Co-Director of the Applied Research Project at Research for Better Schools.

1

Restructuring

In Search of a Movement

JOSEPH MURPHY

Attempts to change, improve, and reform schools in this country enjoy a long and checkered history. At the crest of current efforts are a collection of strategies that have been labeled "restructuring." The purpose of this volume is to help us see how this still rather recent movement is unfolding in schools throughout the United States and Canada—to uncover lessons from a number of early restructuring efforts. The goal of this introductory chapter is to set the stage for the eight studies that follow. In the first part of the chapter, we look backstage. We address the meaning of restructuring and the forces supporting attempts to reinvent schooling. We also discuss the heritage of restructuring and review ways of knowing what this reform movement means. In the second half of the chapter, we unpack the concept of restructuring in two ways:

AUTHOR'S NOTE: This work was conducted under the auspices of the National Center for Educational Leadership, a consortium of Harvard University, Vanderbilt University, and the University of Chicago supported by the U.S. Department of Education (Grant No. R117C8005). The views expressed in this chapter are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the sponsoring institutions.

by providing a conceptual framework that contains the key restructuring elements and strategies and by discussing the major themes embedded in restructuring efforts.

Looking Backstage

In Search of an Idea

Although there appears to be no shortage of schools that have embraced restructuring throughout the nation and the world,[1] there is still a good deal of confusion about exactly what this construct means. A number of analysts have commented on the vagueness that surrounds the concept (Newmann, 1991; Peterson & McCarthey, 1991; Tyack, 1990) and how, in the absence of a clear definition and in the presence of competing value systems (J. Chapman, personal communication, May 1992), the same ideas (e.g., choice) often mean different things to different people.

While such conceptual fuzziness makes understanding restructuring problematic on one level, the reasons for this lack of definition are certainly understandable. Definition of terms at high levels of abstraction is a long acknowledged method of building initial support and momentum for an idea. As Mitchell and Beach (1991) put it, restructuring "appears to require enough vagueness and uncertainty that it can attract a broad coalition of supporters whose underlying disagreements would keep them from supporting a more clearly defined program of action" (p. 1). The actual meaning of such an ill-defined concept unfolds within the context of everyday activity. Given the grass-roots nature of restructuring, its uncertain definition may be less of a problem than is widely believed. As Goldman, Dunlap, and Conley (1991) remind us, "The definition of restructuring is [and should be] being created daily as educators translate it into myriad programs and behaviors" (p. 2). Given the local character of restructuring, it is not difficult to mount a defense for Mitchell and Beach's (1991) assumption that "the term restructuring means just what it means to those who are wrestling with assessing it and implementing it in the schools" (p. 2).

The very comprehensiveness of restructuring also makes definitional efforts somewhat problematic. Systemic change is at the heart of the restructuring movement (Smith & O'Day, 1990). This approach to improvement requires an overhaul of most, if not all, of the major aspects of the educational enterprise somewhat simultaneously (Honig, 1990). Under these conditions, two things often occur. On the one hand, with so much to consider, people tend to focus on only one piece of the larger picture (e.g., teacher professionalism) and are hard pressed to recognize components not within their vision (e.g., teaching for understanding). Or, on the other hand, restructuring takes on so much baggage that it begins to lose meaning (Barth, 1991). It becomes "a catch-all, or garbage-can, into which many loosely-defined ideas about school reform can be tossed" (Elmore, 1991, p. 2). In both cases, people often lose touch with the core principles of restructuring and become preoccupied with disparate pieces of the puzzle.

Ways of Knowing

For reasons we discuss later, and based upon effective practices from corporate and educational enterprises (see Murphy, 1991), considerable energy has begun to be invested in re-creating our educational system. At statehouses, governors' mansions, and state agencies across the nation, politicians and bureaucrats have raised "restructuring to the top of the policy agenda" (Mitchell & Beach, 1991, p. 34). In the academic community, at least two national centers—at the University of Wisconsin (see the Louis & King chapter) and Teachers College—as well as more project-focused activities (see the Short & Greer chapter) have sprung up to study and promulgate restructuring practices. University-based investigators throughout the country are busy trying to understand the phenomenon and its effects on school communities. Nearly all the federal research centers and laboratories are contributing to the dialogue in this area (see the Hallinger & Hausman chapter and the Webb, Corbett, & Wilson chapter). In schools and districts throughout the United States and Canada, teachers, students, parents, administrators, and community members are laboring to reframe their conceptions of learning and schooling and their own roles in these processes (see the Fullan chapter). And at the nexus of these groups is a number of highly visible restructuring efforts such as Accelerated Schools, Essential Schools, and Re: Learning, and Success for All (see the McCarthy & Still chapter, the Prestine chapter, and the Slavin et al. chapter).

As we have discussed elsewhere (Murphy, Evertson, & Radnofsky, 1991), there are a variety of ways of knowing about restructuring. One can look to the research that informs the central elements of this reform strategy. For example, the research on cognitive and constructivist approaches to learning is particularly helpful in grasping the evolving conception of the core technology in restructured schools (Bransford, Goldman, & Vye, n.d.; Marshall, 1992; Shuell, 1986). Reports, legislation, regulations, and frameworks from the policy world provide a second way of knowing about restructuring (Council of Chief State School Officers, 1989; David, Cohen, Honetschlager, & Traiman, 1990). A third method is to study what is actually happening in communities, districts, schools, and classrooms that are engaged in rethinking the routines of schooling.[2] To date, much of our understanding of restructuring has come from the first two sources, little from the third. Or, as Mitchell and Beach (1991) conclude, "Restructuring is primarily discussed as a reform and improvement approach that needs to be implemented, rather than one that has been in place long enough to evaluate on the basis of evidence collected in schools and classrooms" (p. 2). In short, "there is a notable paucity of empirical studies and research" on school restructuring (Peterson & McCarthey, 1991; Prestine, 1991, p. 7; Tindal, 1991; White, 1992). As the subtitle of this volume (*Learning From Ongoing Efforts*) indicates, one of its major goals is to address this need—to provide some much needed information about restructuring from communities that have been deeply involved in the process.

Impetus for Restructuring

Tyack (1990) tells us that "reform periods in education are typically times when concerns about the state of the society or economy spill over into demands that schools set things straight" (p. 174). The current restructuring movement is no exception. It embodies "the boosterish belief that formal education can patch any gash in the social [and economic] fabric" (Cohen, 1988, p. 2) of the nation. In the early to mid-1980s, news of deteriorating economic conditions in the United States was increasingly trumpeted in press stories and educational reports:

> Our nation is at risk. Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world. (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 5)

> America's ability to compete in world markets is eroding. The productivity growth of our competitors outdistances our own. The capacity of our economy to provide a high standard of living is increasingly in doubt. (Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986, p. 2)

During this period, "schooling was seen as part of the problem and part of the solution" (Guthrie & Kirst, 1988, p. 4). The maxim of "economic salvation through educational excellence" (Mitchell, 1990, p. 28) was widely accepted, even though the accuracy of the equation (Kerr, 1991) and its moral underpinnings (Giroux, 1988) were called into question.

It is perhaps not surprising that the initial response to this perceived crisis was not a general restructuring of schooling but a patching and repairing of the existing educational enterprise in what is generally regarded as the standards-raising movement (Sedlak, Wheeler, Pullin, & Cusick, 1986) or wave 1 reforms (Murphy, 1990). It was only after these efforts were proposed and institutionalized and their limits began to be scrutinized (Combs, 1988; Cuban, 1984; Elmore, 1987) that new ideas were called for by practitioners, academics, and politicians. Special concern was expressed for developing strategies that were isomorphic with the emerging values of a postindustrial society (Banathy, 1988; Beare, 1989; Clark & Meloy, 1989). New reform strategies and assumptions were judged to fit the bill and a new school improvement movement—restructuring—took root (Murphy, 1992a), drawing considerable energy from the backlash against the more traditional responses of the early 1980s to the economic crisis confronting the nation (Murphy, 1991).

Demands for restructuring are also supported by the desire to repair an ever widening tear in the social fabric of the nation—a gash that threatens "our national standard of living and democratic foundations" (Carnegie Council for Adolescent Development, 1989, p. 27) and promises to overwhelm schooling. The number of social ills confronting society appears to be expanding geometrically. Ever increasing numbers of families are falling into poverty. As the gap between the rich and poor grows, many are sinking even deeper into poverty. Children are disproportionately represented among the ranks of the poor, and the number of children in poverty—currently one in five—continues to grow. Minority student enrollments in schools are increasing. A quarter century hence, nearly half of all U.S. students will be nonwhite (Carnegie Council for Adolescent Development, 1989). The country is experiencing rapid growth in the number of students whose primary language is other than English. More and more children come from single-parent homes (25% of all families are headed by a single parent) or from families where both parents work. At the same time, we are bombarded with news of alarming increases in measures of dysfunctions and ill health among youth and their families: unemployment, unwanted pregnancies, alcohol and drug abuse, and violence (see Hodgkinson, 1991; Kirst, McLaughlin, & Massell, 1989; Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990; Wagstaff & Gallagher, 1990).

Roots

Before leaving our behind-the-scenes look at restructuring, it is important to place the movement in a broader historical context. Restructuring is not a new phenomenon. On the one hand, its heritage is the larger, historical reform movement that characterizes education in this country (Tyack, 1990; Warren, 1990). Restructuring is part of the larger fabric of reform, one woven from cyclical waves of improvement efforts that have washed over education approximately every decade for the past 100 years (Passow, 1984; Powell, Farrar, & Cohen, 1985).

On the other hand, and of equal importance, many elements of restructuring—such as site-based management and decision making, teacher professionalism, and enhanced parental voice—enjoy a heritage of their own. For example, in an especially insightful analysis of teaching practice, Cohen (1988) reveals how recent reform ideas such as educating for insight (Perkins, 1991) and teaching for meaningful understanding (Evertson & Murphy, 1992) "resemble early manifestoes in a long revolution" (p. 14) that he labels "adventurous pedagogy" (p. 16). Beck and Murphy (1993) and Murphy (1992b) trace recent trends in educational leadership and democratic management to traditions extending back to the mid-1880s. Murphy (1992a) uncovers the debt owed by restructuring advocates to earlier work on school effectiveness. Guthrie (1990), in turn, reveals how "proposals for educational privatization have existed literally for centuries" (p. 225). The point here is that restructuring is linked in a longer chain of history and grounded in ideological perspectives that themselves enjoy a deep heritage. What is unique about today's restructuring is the reemergence of so many "romantic" ideas about schooling at the same time and the fact that these views may be holding center stage for the first time.

In the next section, we turn to an analysis of the key components of current restructuring. We do this in two ways. First, we lay out the conceptual scaffolding of the restructuring movement. Next, the key themes of this reform agenda are examined.

Examining the Production

Restructuring: A Conceptual Framework

The framework presented in Figure 1.1 is designed to convey what we know about restructuring from all available sources of information, although, as we noted earlier, some have been more heavily mined than others. The framework is a heuristic guide to study and action.

The rectangles in Figure 1.1 represent the key players in restructuring: students, teachers, parents, and administrators at the school, district, and state levels. The italicized phrases attached to

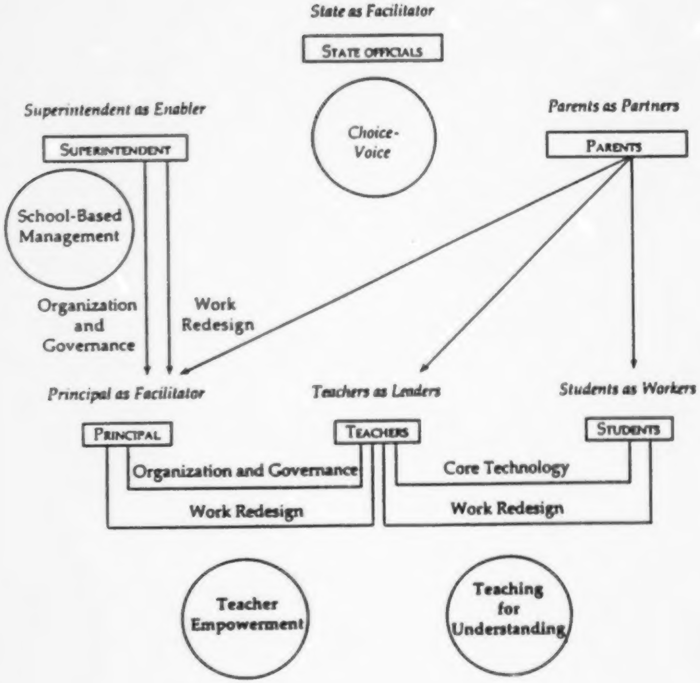

Figure 1.1. Restructuring Schools: A Conceptual Framework

SOURCE: Reprinted by permission of the publisher from Murphy, Joseph, *Restructuring Schools: Capturing and Assessing the Phenomena*. (New York: Teachers College Press, © 1991 by Teachers College, Columbia University. All rights reserved.)

the players provide a metaphorical picture of the roles these actors play in a restructured educational system. The circles capture the four most prevalent strategies being employed to reframe education: choice and voice, school-based management, teacher empowerment, and teaching for understanding. The lines connecting the various pieces of the model represent some of the major components of restructuring: changes to the core technology, alterations in the design of work, and revisions in the organization and governance structures. Collectively, these elements conceptually capture much of what we know about the infrastructure of the current movement to reinvent education. We turn now to an examination of the two major school restructuring themes embedded in the framework: the marketization of education and the redefinition of the roles of educational stakeholders.

Restructuring Themes

Marketization

Much of what is occurring under the banner of restructuring, when viewed as a whole, lends support to the conclusion that the privatization of the educational industry is a central theme of this movement. Drawing force from (a) attacks on the dysfunctional nature of the bureaucratic, monopolistic educational enterprise (Chubb, 1988; McNeil, 1988; Sizer, 1984), (b) appeals to the power of competition to foster much needed improvements in education (Clune & White, 1988; Elmore, 1988a), and (c) the desire on the part of some to transfer tens of billions of dollars from the public to the private sector, a variety of elements are unfolding under the larger rubric of marketization. The glue that holds all of the components in this theme together is accountability or, more precisely, demands for greater accountability—especially appeals for the use of more outcome-based measures of student and school performance (National Governors' Association, 1986).

In addition to accountability, three interconnected thrusts—the privatization of schooling, the introduction of market forces into schools, and deregulation—define the marketization theme. Buttressed by data suggesting that private schools outperform public ones as well as by a renewed interest in the benefits of competition, plans to privatize schooling are quickly rising to the forefront of the restructuring agenda (Guthrie, 1990). On the more radical end of the privatization continuum are efforts to redefine public education to include private schools. The reemergence of voucher proposals that allow tax dollars to flow to any school—private or public—as well as some of the more comprehensive choice programs fall within this category. Such proposals, in effect, take public schools into the private sector. A second strategy encompasses efforts to expand the availability of alternative schools. The development of an alternative private system of schooling—possibly vying with public institutions for tuition dollars—envisioned by Chris Whittle and his Edison team is a good example of this strategy (Walsh, 1992).[3] The charter school movement[4] that allows (and sometimes encourages) schools to opt out of district control—thus turning education into a cottage industry—is a third method being used to privatize schooling. Controlled choice plans are the least radical of the privatization schemes.[5] These plans generally unfold within existing district structures. As such, by definition, choice is limited to traditionally defined public schools. Within this constraint, however, efforts are undertaken to use parental choice—and accompanying market forces—as leverage to instill greater sensitivity and responsiveness to client needs and interests. While the benefits of these privatization schemes are open to question (see Boyd & Kerchner, 1988; Boyd & Walberg, 1990), and despite the fact that similar ideas mean different things in different states and different school systems, there is little doubt that they are designed to introduce the underpinnings of the market philosophy into schools, especially market-sensitive measures of accountability.

Market principles are also increasingly finding their way into the routines of school management. At the district level, school systems are finding it desirable to contract out for services rather than to provide everything in-house, a movement paralleling trends in the corporate world (Beare, 1989). As the district-level monopoly on providing services is dismantled through school deregulation, individual schools in turn are purchasing services from whomever they believe offers the best product at the best price. In a practice unheard of only a quarter century ago, and even more recently limited to such peripheral sectors of school operations as transportation and food services, schools and school districts are increasingly turning to private contractors for a wide array of goods and services, including in the most radical cases the total management of the school district (e.g., Duluth) by for-profit firms such as Educational Alternatives (Schmidt, 1992). The birth of the American Association of Educators in Private Practice (AAEPP) in 1990 is a testimonial to this phenomenon (AAEPP, 1992). Concomitantly, schools are being treated more like private enterprises. Demands for accountability are being accompanied by additional degrees of freedom at the site level. Individual schools are widening the extent to which they control their goals, budgets, organizational structures, core technology, and staff. In return, they are being asked to adopt operating routines that are more consistent with those found in competitive enterprises. The expanding debate about the appropriateness of tenure in restructured schools reveals the extent to which market principles are being held up for schools to examine.

On a more indirect front, efforts are afoot to extricate schools from a confining web of governmental regulations. This deregulation thrust includes efforts to disentangle schools from federal, state, and district guidelines and policies. It is occurring on a broad front employing three different strategies: full deregulation, enhanced flexibility, and waivers. Under the most radical deregulation model, the entire regulatory structure is pulled back. Schools are given goals (or in some cases asked to provide their own) and are held accountable for results. Considerable autonomy in the methods and procedures used to achieve those goals is granted to schools. Under the enhanced flexibility strategy, the regulatory framework remains in place but is pared back to eliminate excessive and overly confining directives. The waiver approach allows schools to seek permission to override regulations that they believe interfere with the development of locally sensitive improvement programs. Originally the most widely employed deregulation option, waivers are giving way to more radical measures to pull schools out of the web of governmental directives, policies, guidelines, and rules—a pattern that is evident across each of the elements of the marketization theme (e.g., in the area of "choice," there has been an evolution from magnet schools, to choice within existing school structures, to charter schools).

Redefining Roles

Changes in what Schlechty (1990) refers to as the roles, rules, and responsibilities of schooling are at the heart of restructuring efforts. For organizational purposes, we discuss these changes under the following four roles: studenting,[6] teaching, administering, and parenting.

Studenting.[7] *Studenting* refers to the role of children and youth in restructuring schools. The most significant change here goes from the view of students as "relatively passive . . . accumulators of material" (Cohen, 1988, p. 10)—that is, students as products—to the conception of students as active constructors of their own understanding—students as workers:

> Cognitive approaches to learning stress that learning is an active, constructive, and goal-oriented process that is dependent upon the mental activities of the learner. This view, of course, contrasts with the behavioral orientation that focuses on behavioral changes requiring a predominantly passive response from the learner to various environmental factors. (Shuell, 1986, p. 415)

Underlying this evolution in the role of the student are three interrelated changes in the core technology of schooling. To begin with, there is a shift in emphasis from behavioral to constructivist principles of learning, especially to "social cognitive theories of motivation and achievement" (Maehr & Midgley, in press, p. 4). As Hutchins (1988) reminds us, the "research on cognition as a basis for understanding how children learn casts an entirely different perspective on how the schooling process should be designed" (p. 47). In addition to the centrality of active learning, another important implication of constructivist views of learning is that "learning and cognition . . . are fundamentally situated" (Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989, p. 32). Learning is viewed as a social phenomenon and considerable attention is devoted to "the social roots of cognition" (Bransford et al., n.d., p. 12) and to "the social and cultural context in which learning takes place" (Prestine

& LeGrand, 1990, p. 8). The prevailing notion of studenting as a decontextualized experience—in which action and knowledge are separated—gives way to meaningful tasks and "contextualized practice" (Bransford et al., n.d., p. 32). The traditional emphasis on acquiring information is replaced by a focus on learning to learn, on "readiness to engage in self-regulated learning" (Brophy, 1992, p. 6), and on the ability to use knowledge (Bransford, Franks, Vye, & Sherwood, 1989; Newmann, 1991). Maintenance learning that "involves acquiring fixed outlooks, methods, and rules for dealing with known events and recurring situations" (Banathy, 1988, p. 58) takes a backseat "to the enhancement of learning" (Elmore, 1991, p. 5) and to evolutionary learning that empowers students "to anticipate and face unexpected situations" (p. 59). New perspectives on the constructive nature of studenting and on the context of learning mean that the century-old concern for independent work and competition—a focus on the individual dimension of human existence, especially on individual ability—recedes in favor of more cooperative learning relationships—a focus on the "social conditions under which learning occurs" (Elmore, 1991, p. 7).

Second, undergirding new views of studenting are fairly startling revisions in assumptions about knowledge and intelligence (Means & Knapp, 1991). The conception of knowledge as something "objective and stable . . . consist[ing] of facts, laws, and procedures that are true independent of those who learn" (Cohen, 1988, p. 10) is being subjected to increasing scrutiny (Fisher, 1990; Langer, 1987). A new perspective, one that holds knowledge to be internal and subjective, to depend "on the values of the persons working with it and the context within which that work is conducted" (Fisher, 1990, p. 82), is receiving serious consideration (Gilmore & Murphy, 1991; Lotto & Murphy, 1990). The conditional nature of knowledge is acknowledged (Langer, 1987). Thus this emerging conception of studenting sees "knowledge not as somehow in the possession of the teacher, waiting to be transmitted to the student or to be used to treat the students' problems, but as mutually constructed by teacher and student in order to make sense of human experience" (Petrie, 1990, pp. 17-18). It holds that "knowledge is a human creation rather than a human reception" (Cohen, 1988, p. 12).

Important evolutions in the area of intelligence also undergird our understanding of studenting in restructuring schools. First of all, because of research on everyday cognition, intelligence is being seen as less and less of a unidimensional factor (Perkins, 1991). The concept of academic intelligence is being "supplemented with another concept . . . called practical intelligence" (Bransford et al., n.d., p. 7). Thus a multidimensional understanding of intelligence is taking root. At the same time, work in this area is carrying us away from the notion of intelligence as a trait to views of intelligence that are in "close proximity to the study of training and development" (Bransford et al., n.d., p. 8).

Third, consistent with what we have seen unfolding, studenting implies enhanced emphasis on a learner-centered pedagogy—as opposed to the more traditional model of teacher-centered instruction. The model of the teacher as "a pipeline for Truth" (Cohen, 1988, p. 12) or a "sage on a stage" (Fisher, 1990, p. 83)—in which instructors are viewed as content specialists who possess relevant knowledge that they transmit to students through telling—is replaced by an approach in which "teaching is more like coaching, where the student (as opposed to the teacher) is the primary performer" (p. 83). Substantive conversation replaces conventional classroom talk and didactic instruction (Newmann, 1991). Dialogue becomes "the central medium for teaching and learning" (Means & Knapp, 1991, p. 12). In schools that are conceived of as "knowledge work" organizations (Schlechty, 1990, p. 42), and in which learning is seen as "meaning making" (Petrie, 1990, p. 19), teaching is viewed "as facilitating the construction of meaning" (p. 18). Thus, in restructuring schools, teachers act as facilitators (McCarthey & Peterson, 1989), modelers (Spady, 1988), and scaffold builders (Collins, Hawkins, & Carver, 1991), who invest "students with increased power and responsibility for their own learning" (Elmore, 1988b, p. 3). Students are seen as "producers of knowledge" and teachers "as managers of learning experiences" (Hawley, 1989, p. 32). The focus is on learning, not on the delivery system (Seeley, 1980). Teaching methods are "designed to give students the opportunity to observe, engage in, and invent or discover expert strategies in context" (Collins et al., 1991, p. 178).

Teaching. Analysts foresee a variety of changes for teachers in restructuring schools, changes embedded in two intertwined ideas: new conceptions of teaching and the empowerment of the teaching force. Across a wide array of areas, teaching looks different in these organizations. The most powerful dynamic is the shift from a technical to a professional view of teaching—what Rallis (1990) labels the emergence of "an elevated conception of teaching" (p. 193).

At the classroom level, as noted above, constructivist perspectives of learning exercise important influences over the activities of teachers. Teachers are no longer in the knowledge transmission business but act as guides (Cohen, 1988) and coaches (Sizer, 1984) who help students construct their own understandings of the world. The role of the teacher is one of "empowering and enabling students to take control of their own learning" (Elmore, 1988b, p. 1). Educating for insight (Perkins, 1991) and teaching for meaningful understanding (Evertson & Murphy, 1992) replace teaching as telling as the dominant instructional metaphor. In the definition of these new roles for teachers, the limitations of reductionist views of instruction embedded in technical conceptions of teaching are confronted. The complexity of teaching is acknowledged. Instruction becomes less generic and more personalized. Developmentally appropriate instruction moves to center stage. Teachers are less concerned with finding the most effective instructional strategy than they are with expanding the variety of approaches needed to tailor classroom experiences to the needs of individual children.

The redefinition of teaching included within the restructuring movement means that teachers, historically organized to carry out instructional designs and to implement curricular materials developed from afar, begin to exercise considerably more control over their profession and the routines of the workplace. Analysts see this reorganization playing out in a variety of ways at the school level. At the most fundamental level, teachers have a much more active voice in developing the goals and purposes of schooling (Conway & Jacobson, 1990)—goals that act to delimit or expand the conception of teaching itself. They also have a good deal more to say about the curricular structures and pedagogical approaches employed in their schools (David, 1989)—"influences over the basic elements of instructional practice (time, material, student engagement, and so forth)" (Elmore, 1989, p. 20). Finally, teachers demonstrate more control over the supporting ingredients of schooling, such as budgets, personnel, and administration, that affect the way they carry out their responsibilities (Murphy, 1991).

Advocates of transformational change also see teaching becoming a more collegial activity. Isolation, so deeply ingrained in the structure and culture of the profession (Lortie, 1975), gives way to more collaborative efforts among teachers (McCarthey & Peterson, 1989; Wise, 1989). At the macro level, teachers are redefining their roles to include collaborative management of the profession, especially providing direction for professional standards. At a more micro level, new organizational structures are being created to allow teachers to plan and teach together and to make important decisions about the nature of their roles (Carnegie Forum, 1986; Holmes Group, 1986). A culture that recognizes the importance of collaborative efforts at professional development also characterizes teacher role redesign in restructuring schools (McCarthey & Peterson, 1989; Rallis, 1990).

New conceptions of teaching include other efforts to expand "teachers' roles and responsibilities beyond their regular classroom assignments" (Smylie & Denny, 1989, p. 4). The opening of decision-making forums historically closed to teachers is one example of this expansion. Thus redefining teaching entails "acknowledging and institutionalizing the central managerial role of teachers" (Sykes & Elmore, 1989, p. 85)—a phenomenon that plays out in each individual teacher's expanded responsibility for the professionalization of colleagues and collectively in decision-making bodies such as school-site councils. Job enrichment is a second way in which empowerment and professionalization are reconfiguring teaching. Specifically, redefining teaching encompasses efforts to expand the variety of roles available to teachers (e.g., mentor teacher, master teacher), to define teaching in reference to students as opposed to subject matter or academic discipline, and to provide career opportunities that do not take teachers away from teaching (e.g., teacher-director) (Murphy, 1991).

Administering. Changes envisioned in restructuring schools in this area are of two types: an expansion of the actors involved in managing schools (a redefinition of what school administration is) and a reconceptualization of formal leadership roles (a redefinition of what designated managers do). Both types gain motive force from four sources: (a) the empowerment of historically disenfranchised roles in schools (e.g., students, parents); (b) the professionalization of teaching; (c) attacks upon the existing administrative structure of schooling—that is, bureaucratic, hierarchical management; and (d) demands for, and models of, new forms of management, including most saliently the move from institutional to communal views of schooling.

Despite some influential work on substitutes for leadership (Kerr & Jermier, 1978; Pitner, 1986), administration has historically been defined as position or role based and hierarchical in nature (Murphy, 1988; Murphy, Hallinger, & Mitman, 1983). What this means is that those higher in the organizational structure are seen as more powerful than those below them and that the right to administer is limited to those anointed with certain specific job titles. Restructuring often includes important alterations to this accepted view of administration. To begin with, management is less hierarchical (Clark & Meloy, 1989). Under reframed views of schooling, at least as many important decisions are made by site-level participants as by state- or district-level actors. This alteration accounts for the centrality of organic (Weick & McDaniel, 1989) and adaptive (Louis & Miles, 1990) models of organization and the importance of school-based management in these transformational change strategies. The prime message is one of expanded local control, of schools being allotted greater influence over the administration of their own affairs. At the same time, administration is no longer limited to formal organizational management positions. Leadership and management—school administration—are based on ability (Sergiovanni, 1991). Administrative activities are dispersed according to competence for needed tasks rather than authority. This shift explains the centrality of the empowerment of teachers, parents, and students and the importance of site-based decision making in restructuring schools.

Concomitantly, buttressed by the forces noted above, there is also a significant rethinking of the role of traditional administrative positions (Beck & Murphy, 1993; Murphy, 1992b; Murphy &

Hallinger, in press)—a reframing captured best by the rubric of "transformational leadership" (Foster, 1989; Goldring, in press; Leithwood, 1992). Central to this emerging view of administration is a shift from a "*power over* approach . . . to a *power to* approach" (Sergiovanni, 1991, p. 57). Formal leadership in restructured schools "becomes relocated from the apex of the pyramid to the center of the network of human relationships and functions as a change agent and resource" (Chapman & Boyd, 1986, p. 55). Professional expertise, moral persuasiveness, and modeling, rather than authority and position, become the currency of administration in restructuring schools.

In restructuring schools, the historical management preoccupation with the structural components of schooling is offset by a focus on the human dimensions of the organization, especially on the development of community and an underscoring of the cultural and symbolic aspects of the enterprise (Clark & Meloy, 1989). A key element of this change is the shift from management by control to management by empowerment (Barth, 1988), or what Goldman and his colleagues (1991) call "administrative facilitation" (p. 1) and what Sergiovanni (1991) labels "ministering" (p. 335). There is also a redirection of energy from managing existing organizational structures to "purpose-defining" (Harlow, 1962, p. 61) and "reflective analysis . . . and active intervention" (Bates, 1984, p. 268). Administration in restructuring schools is less about getting children and families to fit current conceptions of schooling than it is about shaping education to fit the needs of youth (Clark, 1990). Administration in restructuring schools is also being redefined toward leadership and the educational and moral foundations of schooling (Murphy, 1992b, in press). Caring becomes the central ethic of administration (Beck, in press).

Parenting. The role of parents is dramatically redefined in restructuring schools. Often on the outside looking in, parents become partners in those communities that are engaged in transforming their educational systems. Four elements of this evolving role receive the most attention in the restructuring literature: choice in selecting a school, voice in school governance, partnership in the education of their children, and enhanced membership in the school community. Central to all four is a blurring of the boundaries between the home and the school, between the school and the community, and between professional staff and lay constituents (Goldring, in press). Collectively, these components gain force from decentralized conceptions of schooling (e.g., site-based decision making) and the grass-roots political and competitive economic arguments that support the calls for smaller and more locally controlled organizations[8] (Murphy, 1991).

In one part of the restructuring production, the parenting role is being recast to include opportunities for parents to select the schools their children will attend. While the extent of this empowerment varies from community to community (e.g., in-district choice, across-district choice, choice plans that include both public and private schools), there is little doubt that choice changes the traditional role of parents in schools. In addition, in many districts, parents are taking an increasingly vocal role in the governance of their schools. The concept of parents as advisers, so popular in earlier eras of parental empowerment, has given way to the notion of parents as decision makers. In restructuring schools, parents are being asked to sit on governing bodies as equal partners with teachers and administrators.[9]

As the limits of formal schooling are acknowledged, as the seamless nature of learning becomes clearer, and as the powerful influence of parents on student outcomes is more fully documented, an expanding number of institutions are engaged in the process of creating educational partnerships between the school and the community. Parents are being asked to work with the school to help create a comprehensive learning environment that ensures student success—an environment in which the roles of home and community are emphasized. And, finally, at least in some places, parenting is being redefined to include direct participation in the educational process. Thus, in a number of townships, schools are no longer only for children but for families as well. Where the family is the focus of attention, parents are becoming active participants in an enlarged conception of schooling, often by taking classes themselves or by participating in family-related services in the schools (Cunningham, 1989; Kirst et al., 1989).

Epilogue and Prologue

The restructuring movement is currently at center stage in our efforts to improve schooling and education in the United States and throughout the world. In this chapter, we have tried to define the parameters of the movement. We have examined what restructuring means—both conceptually and thematically—as well as its historical foundations. Particular attention has been devoted to analyzing how the roles of the various educational stakeholders are likely to change under the influence of this group of transformational strategies.

Yet, as popular and appealing as restructuring is, information about the effects of these approaches to improvement remains largely conspicuous by its absence. This is troublesome for four reasons. At the most basic level, attempts to turn the educational enterprise upside down in the absence of data about the best way to undertake its reconstruction seem premature. Second, the likelihood that certain components of the restructuring agenda (e.g., choice, teacher empowerment, school-based management) will lead to enhanced outcomes for students is open to serious question (Murphy, 1991). There certainly is very little evidence that this will occur and at least some evidence that it will not (see, for example, Cohen, 1989; Elmore, 1988a; Malen, Ogawa, & Kranz, 1989). Third, there is little evidence to suggest that restructuring elements such as choice and school-based management are the most powerful leverage to influence the mediating variables that are connected to student outcomes. That is, many elements of the restructuring agenda do not appear to be linked to student outcomes, either directly or indirectly. Finally, there is at least some reason to suspect that restructuring may result in some negative consequences for children and their families (Watt, 1989). For example, both self-managing schools and schools of choice have the potential to create "serious problems of equity among schools" (Elmore, 1988b, p. 28).

On the other hand, there is a good deal of optimism afoot about the potential of the restructuring movement to improve education and schooling. It is important to remember that there is much to be said for providing voice to parents, students, and teachers, regardless of whether this leads to enhanced learning outcomes or not. And, while this stage production on transforming schools may not be quite as polished as many viewers suspect, there is still reason to believe that restructuring may actually have important effects on measures of student learning. This appears to be especially true for restructuring efforts that flow from the rich conceptions of learning embedded in our discussion of studenting. We therefore need a better understanding of what works in certain contexts—and why.

In short, the time has come to move beyond our preoccupation with conceptual discussions of restructuring to more grounded understandings—to learn what we can from ongoing efforts at transforming education. The chapters that follow take us on such a journey by providing longitudinal assessments of eight mature restructuring efforts. Individually, they provide insightful analyses of reframing strategies. Collectively, they inform us about implications for policy and practice in the area of restructuring. We return to these implications in the final chapter. Our attention shifts now to the eight cases themselves.

Notes

1. While the focus of this volume is on restructuring in the United States and Canada, it is important to note that the reform strategies embedded in restructuring are "clearly appearing as a worldwide trend" (Guthrie, 1990, p. 224; see, for example, Beare & Boyd, in press; Murphy & Hallinger, in press).

2. For excellent discussions of the current and envisioned routines of schooling, see Cohen (1988), Elmore (1991), and Marshall (1992).

3. The fact that one of the most highly visible educational interventions of the past decade—the New American Schools Development Corporation—is privately funded by corporate America to create alternative models of schooling is worth noting at this point.

4. Also known in England as Grant Maintained Schools (Goodchild & Bragg, 1992).

5. For an illustrative array of choice options, see Elmore (1988a).

6. The idea of "studenting" appears to have been introduced by Fenstermacher (1986).

7. The material presented in the "Studenting" section is adopted from Chapter 5 of Murphy (1992b).

8. Some of the terms being applied to these types of organizations have been noted by Beare (1989): *networked, shamrock, atomized, constellation, dispersed, membership,* and *federation* (p. 16).

9. Even under these enabling conditions, however, there are still considerable questions about whether parents can, or are willing to, act as full partners in governing their schools. (See especially Malen & Ogawa, 1988.)

References

American Association of Educators in Private Practice (AAEPP). (1992). *Network News and Views, 11*(3), iv.

Banathy, B. H. (1988). An outside-in approach to design inquiry in education. In Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development (Ed.), *The redesign of education: A collection of papers concerned with comprehensive educational reform* (Vol. 1, pp. 51-71). San Francisco: Far West Laboratory.

Barth, R. S. (1988). School: A community of leaders. In A. Lieberman (Ed.), *Building a professional culture in schools* (pp. 129-147). New York: Teachers College Press.

Barth, R. S. (1991, October). Restructuring schools: Some questions for teachers and principals. *Phi Delta Kappan, 73*(2), 123-128.

Bates, R. J. (1984). Toward a critical practice of educational administration. In T. J. Sergiovanni & J. E. Corbally (Eds.), *Leadership and organizational culture: New perspectives on administrative theory and practice* (pp. 260-274). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Beare, H. (1989, September). *Educational administration in the 1990s.* Paper presented at the national conference of the Australian Council for Educational Administration, Armidale, New South Wales, Australia.

Beare, H., & Boyd, W. L. (Eds.). (in press). *Restructuring schools: An international perspective.* Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Beck, L. (in press). *Reclaiming educational administration as a caring profession.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Beck, L. G., & Murphy, J. (1993). *Understanding the principalship: Metaphorical themes from 1920-1990.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Boyd, W. L., & Kerchner, C. T. (Eds.). (1988). *The politics of excellence and choice in education.* New York: Falmer.

Boyd, W. L., & Walberg, H. J. (Eds.). (1990). *Choice in education: Potential and problems.* Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Bransford, J. D., Franks, J. J., Vye, N. J., & Sherwood, R. D. (1989). New approaches to instruction: Because wisdom can't be told. In S. Vosniadon & A. Orton (Eds.), *Similarity and analogical reasoning* (pp. 470-497). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bransford, J. D., Goldman, S. R., & Vye, N. J. (n.d.). *Making a difference in people's abilities to think: Reflections on a decade of work and some hopes for the future.* Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University, Peabody College, Learning Technology Center.

Brophy, J. (1992, April). Probing the subtleties of subject-matter teaching. *Educational Leadership, 49*(7), 4-8.

Brown, J. S., Collins, A., & Duguid, P. (1989, January-February). Situated cognition and the culture of learning. *Educational Researcher, 18*(1), 32-42.

Carnegie Council for Adolescent Development. (1989). *Turning points.* Washington, DC: Author.

Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy. (1986, May). *A nation prepared: Teachers for the 21st century.* Washington, DC: Author.

Chapman, J., & Boyd, W. L. (1986, Fall). Decentralization, devolution, and the school principal: Australian lessons on statewide educational reform. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 22*(4), 28-58.

Chubb, J. E. (1988, Winter). Why the current wave of school reform will fail. *The Public Interest,* pp. 28-49.

Clark, D. L. (1990, September). *Reinventing school leadership* (Working memo prepared for the Reinventing School Leadership

Conference, pp. 25-29). Cambridge, MA: National Center for Educational Leadership.

Clark, D. L., & Meloy, J. M. (1989). Renouncing bureaucracy: A democratic structure for leadership in schools. In T. J. Sergiovanni & J. A. Moore (Eds.), *Schooling for tomorrow: Directing reform to issues that count* (pp. 272-294). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Clune, W. H., & White, P. A. (1988, September). *School-based management: Institutional variation, implementation, and issues for further research.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Center for Policy Research in Education.

Cohen, D. K. (1988, September). *Teaching practice: Plus ça change . . .* (Issue Paper 88-3). East Lansing: Michigan State University, National Center for Research on Teacher Education.

Cohen, D. K. (1989, May). *Can decentralization or choice improve public education?* Paper presented at the conference on choice and control in American education, University of Wisconsin—Madison.

Collins, A., Hawkins, J., & Carver, S. M. (1991). A cognitive apprenticeship for disadvantaged students. In U.S. Department of Education (Ed.), *Teaching advanced skills to educationally disadvantaged students* (pp. 173-194). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Combs, A. W. (1988, February). New assumptions for educational reform. *Educational Leadership, 45*(5), 38-40.

Conway, J. A., & Jacobson, S. L. (1990). An epilogue: Where is educational leadership going? In S. L. Jacobson & J. A. Conway (Eds.), *Educational leadership in an age of reform* (pp. 181-195). New York: Longman.

Council of Chief State School Officers. (1989). *Success for all in a new century.* Washington, DC: Author.

Cuban, L. (1984, November). School reform by remote control: SB813 in California. *Phi Delta Kappan, 66*(3), 213-215.

Cunningham, L. L. (1989, April 11). *The Ohio State University interprofessional education program.* Presentation at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN.

David, J. (1989). *Restructuring in progress: Lessons from pioneering districts.* Washington, DC: National Governors' Association.

David, J. L., Cohen, M., Honetschlager, D., & Traiman, S. (1990). *State actions to restructure schools: First steps.* Washington, DC: National Governors' Association.

Elmore, R. F. (1987, November). Reform and the culture of authority in schools. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 23*(4), 60-78.

Elmore, R. F. (1988a). Choice in public education. In W. L. Boyd & C. T. Kerchner (Eds.), *The politics of excellence and choice in education* (pp. 79-98). New York: Falmer.

Elmore, R. F. (1988b). *Early experience in restructuring schools: Voices from the field.* Washington, DC: National Governors' Association.

Elmore, R. F. (1989, March). *Models of restructured schools.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Elmore, R. F. (1991, April). *Teaching, learning and organization: School restructuring and the recurring dilemmas of reform.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

Evertson, C., & Murphy, J. (1992). Beginning with classrooms: Implications for restructuring schools. In H. H. Marshall (Ed.), *Supporting student learning: Roots of educational change.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Fenstermacher, G. D. (1986). Philosophy of research on teaching: Three aspects. In M. C. Whittrock (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching* (3rd ed., pp. 37-49). New York: Macmillan.

Fisher, C. W. (1990, January). The Research Agenda Project as prologue. *Journal of Research in Mathematics Education, 21*(1), 81-89.

Foster, W. (1989, March). *School leaders as transformational intellectuals: A theoretical argument.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Association, San Francisco.

Gilmore, M., & Murphy, J. (1991, August). Understanding classroom improvements: An organizational sensemaking approach. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 27*(3), 392-429.

Giroux, H. A. (1988). *Teachers as intellectuals: Toward a critical pedagogy of learning.* Granby, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

Goldman, P., Dunlap, D. M., & Conley, D. T. (1991, April). *Administrative facilitation and site-based school reform projects.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

Goldring, E. B. (in press). System-wide diversity in Israel: Principals as transformational and environmental leaders. *Journal of Educational Administration*.

Goodchild, S., & Bragg, V. (1992, January). *U.K. case study*. Paper presented at the International Congress for School Effectiveness and Improvement, Victoria, British Columbia.

Guthrie, J. W. (1990). The evolution of educational management: Eroding myths and emerging models. In B. Mitchell & L. L. Cunningham (Eds.), *Educational leadership and changing contexts of families, communities, and schools* (pp. 210-231). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Guthrie, J. W., & Kirst, M. W. (1988, March). *Conditions of education in California 1988: Policy analysis for California education* (Policy Paper No. 88-3-2). Berkeley, CA: Authors.

Harlow, J. G. (1962). Purpose-defining: The central function of the school administrator. In J. A. Culbertson & S. P. Hencley (Eds.), *Preparing administrators: New perspectives* (pp. 61-71). Columbus, OH: University Council for Educational Administration.

Hawley, W. D. (1989). Looking backward at educational reform. *Education Week, 9*(9), 35, 32.

Hodgkinson, H. L. (1991). Educational reform versus reality. In American Association of School Administrators (AASA)/National School Boards Association (NSBA) (Eds.), *Beyond the schools: How schools and communities must collaborate to solve problems facing America's youth*. Washington, DC: AASA/NSBA.

Holmes Group. (1986, April). *Tomorrow's teachers*. East Lansing, MI: Author.

Honig, B. (1990, February 28). "Comprehensive" strategy can improve schools. *Education Week, 9*(23), 36, 31.

Hutchins, C. L. (1988). Redesigning education. In Far West Laboratory of Educational Research and Development (Ed.), *The redesign of education: A collection of papers concerned with comprehensive educational reform* (Vol. 1, pp. 73-78). San Francisco: Far West Laboratory.

Kerr, C. (1991, February 27). Is education really all that guilty? *Education Week, 10*(23), 30.

Kerr, S., & Jermier, J. (1978). Substitutes for leadership: Their meaning and measurement. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 22*(3), 375-403.

Kirst, M. W., McLaughlin, M., & Massell, D. (1989). *Rethinking children's policy: Implications for educational administration.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University, College of Education, Center for Educational Research.

Langer, E. J. (1987, January). How students learn. *The Journal of the Harvard-Danforth Center, 2,* 5-9.

Leithwood, K. A. (1992, February). The move toward transformational leadership. *Educational Leadership, 49*(5), 8-12.

Lortie, D. C. (1975). *Schoolteacher.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lotto, L. S., & Murphy, J. (1990). Cognition and sensemaking in schools. In P. W. Thurston & L. S. Lotto (Eds.), *Advances in educational administration: Changing perspectives on the school* (Vol. 1, Part B, pp. 201-240). Greenwich, CT: JAI.

Louis, K. S., & Miles, M. B. (1990). *Improving the urban high school: What works and why.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Maehr, M. L., & Midgley, C. (in press). Enhancing student motivation: A school-wide approach. *Educational Psychologist.*

Malen, B., & Ogawa, R. T. (1988, Winter). Professional-patron influence on site-based governance councils: A confounding case study. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 10*(4), 251-270.

Malen, B., Ogawa, R. T., & Kranz, J. (1989, May). *What do we know about school based management? A case study of the literature—a call for research.* Paper presented at the conference on choice and control in American education, University of Wisconsin—Madison.

Marshall, H. H. (Ed.). (1992). *Supporting student learning: Roots of educational change.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

McCarthey, S. J., & Peterson, P. L. (1989, March). *Teacher roles: Weaving new patterns in classroom practice and school organization.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

McNeil, L. M. (1988, January). Contradictions of control, part 1: Administrators and teachers. *Phi Delta Kappan, 69*(5), 333-339.

Means, B., & Knapp, M. S. (1991). Models for teaching advanced skills to educationally disadvantaged children. In U.S. Department of Education (Ed.), *Teaching advanced skills to educationally disadvantaged students* (pp. 1-20). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Mitchell, B. (1990). Children, youth, and educational leadership. In B. Mitchell & L. L. Cunningham (Eds.), *Educational leadership and changing contexts of families, communities, and schools* (Eighty-Ninth NSSE Yearbook, Part II, pp. 19-68). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mitchell, D. E., & Beach, S. A. (1991, March). *School restructuring: The superintendent's view.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

Murphy, J. (1988, Summer). Methodological, measurement, and conceptual problems in the study of administrator instructional leadership. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 10*(2), 117-139.

Murphy, J. (1990). The educational reform movement of the 1980s: A comprehensive analysis. In J. Murphy (Ed.), *The reform of American public education in the 1980s: Perspectives and cases* (pp. 3-55). Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Murphy, J. (1991). *Restructuring schools: Capturing and assessing the phenomena.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Murphy, J. (1992a). School effectiveness and school restructuring: Contributions to educational improvement. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement,* 3(2), 1-20.

Murphy, J. (1992b). *The landscape of leadership preparation: Reframing the education of school administrators.* Newbury Park, CA: Corwin.

Murphy, J. (Ed.). (in press). *Preparing tomorrow's leaders: Alternative designs.* University Park, PA: University Council for Educational Administration.

Murphy, J., Evertson, C., & Radnofsky, M. (1991, November). Restructuring schools: Fourteen elementary and secondary teachers' proposals for reform. *Elementary School Journal, 92*(2), 135-148.

Murphy, J., & Hallinger, P. (in press). The principalship in an era of transformation. *Journal of Educational Administration.*

Murphy, J., Hallinger, P., & Mitman, A. (1983, Fall). Problems with research on educational leadership: Issues to be addressed. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 5*(3), 297-305.

National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983, April). *A nation at risk: The imperative of educational reform*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

National Governors' Association. (1986). *The governors' 1991 report on education*. Washington, DC: Author.

Newmann, F. M. (1991, February). Linking restructuring to authentic student achievement. *Phi Delta Kappan, 72*(6), 458-463.

Passow, A. H. (1984, April). *Reforming schools in the 1980s: A critical review of the national reports*. New York: Columbia University, Teachers College, Institute for Urban and Minority Education.

Perkins, D. N. (1991, October). Educating for insight. *Educational Leadership, 49*(2), 4-8.

Peterson, P. L., & McCarthey, S. J. (1991). *School restructuring and classroom practice: Are the connections inevitable*. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Petrie, H. G. (1990). Reflecting on the second wave of reform: Restructuring the teaching profession. In S. L. Jacobson & J. A. Conway (Eds.), *Educational leadership in an age of reform* (pp. 14-29). New York: Longman.

Pitner, N. J. (1986, Spring). Substitutes for principal leader behavior: An exploratory study. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 22*(2), 23-42.

Powell, A. G., Farrar, E., & Cohen, D. K. (1985). *The shopping mall high school: Winners and losers in the educational marketplace*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Prestine, N. A. (1991, April). *Completing the essential schools metaphor: Principal as enabler*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

Prestine, N. A., & LeGrand, B. (1990, April). *Cognitive learning theory and the preparation of educational administrators: Implications for practice and policy*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston.

Quality Education for Minorities Project. (1990). *Education that works: An action plan for the education of minorities*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Rallis, S. F. (1990). Professional teachers and restructured schools: Leadership challenges. In B. Mitchell & L. L. Cunningham (Eds.), *Educational leadership and changing contexts of families, communities, and schools* (Eighty-Ninth NSSE Yearbook, Part II, pp. 184-209). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schlechty, P. C. (1990). *Schools for the 21st century: Leadership imperatives for educational reform*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Schmidt, P. (1992, March 18). For-profit firm hired to manage schools in Duluth. *Education Week, 11*(26), 1, 18.

Sedlak, M. W., Wheeler, C. W., Pullin, D. C., & Cusick, P. A. (1986). *Selling students short: Classroom bargains and academic reform in the American high school*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Seeley, D. S. (1980, February). *The bankruptcy of service delivery*. Presentation delivered before the Foundation Lunch Group: Panel on Children at the Edwin Gould Foundation for Children, New York.

Sergiovanni, T. J. (1991). *The principalship: A reflective practice perspective* (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Shuell, T. J. (1986, Winter). Cognitive conceptions of learning. *Review of Educational Research, 56*(4), 411-436.

Sizer, T. R. (1984). *Horace's compromise: The dilemma of the American high school*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Smith, M. S., & O'Day, J. (1990). Systemic school reform. In S. H. Fuhrman & B. Malen (Eds.), *The politics of curriculum and testing* (pp. 233-267). London: Falmer.

Smylie, M. A., & Denny, J. W. (1989, March). *Teacher leadership: Tension and ambiguities in organizational perspective*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Leadership Association, San Francisco.

Spady, W. G. (1988, October). Organizing for results: The basis of authentic restructuring and reform. *Educational Leadership, 46*(2), 4-8.

Sykes, G., & Elmore, R. F. (1989). Making schools manageable: Policy and administration for tomorrow's schools. In J. Hannaway & R. Crowson (Eds.), *The politics of reforming school administration* (pp. 77-94). New York: Falmer.

Tindal, G. (1991, Winter-Spring). Operationalizing learning portfolios: A good idea in search of a method. *Diagnostique, 16*(2-3), 127-133.

Tyack, D. (1990, Winter). "Restructuring" in historical perspective: Tinkering toward utopia. *Teachers College Record, 92*(2), 170-191.

Wagstaff, L. H., & Gallagher, K. S. (1990). Schools, families, and communities: Idealized images and new realities. In B. Mitchell & L. L. Cunningham (Eds.), *Educational leadership and changing contexts of families, communities and schools* (Eighty-Ninth NSSE Yearbook, Part II, pp. 91-117). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Walsh, M. (1992, March 4). Whittle unveils team to design new schools. *Education Week, 11*(24), 1, 13.

Warren, D. (1990). Passage of rites: On the history of educational reform in the United States. In J. Murphy (Ed.), *The educational reform movement of the 1980s: Perspectives and cases* (pp. 57-81). Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Watt, J. (1989). The devolution of power: The ideological meaning. *Journal of Educational Administration, 27*(1), 19-28.

Weick, K. E., & McDaniel, R. R. (1989). How professional organizations work: Implications for school organization and management. In T. J. Sergiovanni & J. H. Moore (Eds.), *Schooling for tomorrow: Directing reforms to issues that count* (pp. 330-355). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

White, P. A. (1992, Spring). Teacher empowerment under "ideal" school-site autonomy. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 14*(1), 69-82.

Wise, A. E. (1989). Professional teaching: A new paradigm for the management of education. In T. J. Sergiovanni & J. H. Moore (Eds.), *Schooling for tomorrow: Directing reforms to issues that count* (pp. 301-310). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

2

Feeling the Ripples, Riding the Waves

Making an Essential School

NONA A. PRESTINE

Of the various change initiatives offered under the general rubric of "school restructuring," the Coalition of Essential Schools represents one of the more ambitious and concerted efforts. For individual schools, undertaking essential schools restructuring implies nothing less than a fundamental rethinking of schooling—an invitation to re-create themselves through implementation of the ideas embodied in the Nine Common Principles. Focusing on a limited number of important features of schooling, the Common Principles represent the embodiment of the philosophy of the Coalition and serve as the framework for individual school restructuring efforts. Briefly, these principles are as follows: The school should focus on helping students to learn to use their minds well; the school's goals should be simple—mastery of a limited number of essential skills and areas of knowledge; the school's goals should apply to all students; teaching and learning should be personalized; the governing metaphor of the schools should be student-as-worker, teacher-as-coach; diplomas should be awarded upon a successful final demonstration of mastery; the school's tone should be one of unanxious expectation, trust, and decency; faculty should perceive themselves as generalists rather than specialists; and the budget should permit a total student load per teacher of 80 or fewer students, substantial collaborative planning time for teachers, and per pupil costs not to exceed 10% more than current costs.

While Ted Sizer, the Coalition's founder and chairperson, admits there is nothing new in these ideas, he claims that taking them seriously requires the creation of new school structures. Dedicated restructuring using the Common Principles, then, implies substantive changes for schools not only in the traditional change areas of curriculum and instruction but also in organization and governance, beliefs and understandings, roles and relationships. Because the Common Principles are significant philosophical statements of fundamental beliefs and not nine means-ends progressions addressable in a linear or compartmentalized fashion, substantive changes in any one area will necessarily resonate in all others. "In a school, everything important touches everything else of importance. Change one consequential aspect of that school and all others will be affected. . . . Significant school change requires attending to all the consequential parts of a school at once" (Sizer, 1991, p. 32).

Little direct guidance is provided to schools attempting to restructure using Essential Schools precepts beyond that which is implicitly embodied in the principles. Since its inception, the Coalition has adamantly refused to provide anything resembling a prepackaged model because of the firmly held belief that such models tend to inhibit meaningful change by failing to recognize significant local variations found in individual school settings (Sizer, 1989b). The individual school needs "to adapt each design to its own constituency of students, teachers, parents and neighborhoods and to create a strong sense of ownership of it by those who are involved, [and] this redesign must be largely done at the level of the individual school—even as that school adheres to the principles" (*Prospectus,* 1988, p. 6). In essence, this means that the paths taken in attempting to restructure according to Essential Schools precepts will be richly varied—reflective of the individual characters and unique contextual settings of the schools attempting such change. Lacking the criteria of conformity to any model with preestablished markers of progression, the most significant way of examining what this change entails, and what it means in the larger context of school restructuring, would seem to be by focusing on those schools that appear to be making significant strides in essential schools restructuring.

This chapter is a case study of one such school, Broadmoor Junior High School in Pekin, Illinois, that gives evidence of some success in its essential school restructuring effort. Currently in the third year of a 5-year restructuring effort, Broadmoor is still much involved in essential school change. Yet, the substance and pace of change evidenced thus far recommend it as one school that is succeeding in its efforts. This qualitative evaluation is based, to a large extent, on data gathered over a 3-year period of intense research, including interviews, observation, participation, and document analysis by the author with Broadmoor and three other Illinois schools involved in the essential schools restructuring initiative. From cross-case analyses (see Prestine, in press, 1992) and the evidence of substantive change presented below, Broadmoor appears to be one school that has broken out of the pack to make the deep, schoolwide changes envisioned by the Coalition ("Lessons from the Trenches," 1990). For these reasons, it seems a likely candidate for helping to address some "essential" questions about what works and why it works in this essential schools restructuring effort. Concomitantly, an examination of this school may also present a viable opportunity for increasing understanding of the "process of changing" (Fullan, 1985) inherent in any school restructuring effort.

To accomplish this, a brief overview and description of Broadmoor Junior High School and the process of its initial involvement in essential schools restructuring is presented first to set the context for the study. The focus shifts then to an examination of evidence of substantive change at Broadmoor. Next, the factors identified as significant in this restructuring process will be discussed. Finally, implications from this case for the wider arena of essential schools restructuring will be examined.

Broadmoor and Essential Schools

Broadmoor Junior High School is located in Pekin, a midsized city in the heart of central Illinois. In Illinois, the larger district configuration for a school may be a unit district (K-12), a high school district, or an elementary district. Broadmoor is part of an elementary district (District 108) that also includes one other junior high school, two intermediate schools (4-6), and six elementary schools. Student enrollment at Broadmoor has been fairly constant over the past years at approximately 460 total students in grades 7 and 8. The student body is mixed in terms of socioeconomic class, although homogeneous in terms of ethnicity. The school staff numbers 26 full-time teachers, a guidance counselor, a principal, and an assistant principal.

Of interest, Broadmoor was constructed in the mid-1970s as an open school and district faculty interested in an opportunity to "do something different" educationally were specifically recruited for the new facility. (About one third of the faculty today were among these first recruits.) Like many other open schools, the basic philosophy underlying the building's construction was neither understood nor implemented. The staff was given little, if any, fundamental understandings of or preparation for pursuing this innovation and several teachers felt "cheated" of the promised opportunity. The ensuing years witnessed a slow drift into a traditional departmentalized junior high school format accompanied by the construction of some concrete block walls within the school as well as the erection of teacher-made walls of filing cabinets, bookshelves, and portable blackboards. Nonetheless, Broadmoor's interior design remains strikingly different from the traditional egg-carton design of most schools, retaining large, open areas of floor space that are available for flexible use.

Broadmoor's first involvement with the Essential School ideas came in the 1988-1989 school year as the Illinois Alliance of Essential Schools, the fledgling state-level organization associated with the Re: Learning Project, was actively recruiting schools for membership. Over a period of approximately 5 months and following the steps outlined by the Alliance for membership, all constituencies within the school demonstrated an informed interest in, understanding of, and commitment to essential schools restructuring, including a school staff vote of greater than 75% approval, local school board and teacher union recognition and approval, and district budgetary commitment of local resources (Illinois Alliance of Essential Schools, 1988). Broadmoor became one of ten charter member schools in the Alliance and, concomitantly, a member of the Coalition of Essential Schools.

Chronology of Early Efforts at Change, 1989-1991

In spring 1989, in accordance with Alliance change policy for member schools and supported by additional funds from the Alliance, Broadmoor moved to put in place and to empower a new governance structure to oversee the planned 5-year restructuring process. The new governance body responsible for charting the course of restructuring was the Alliance Planning Committee, or, simply, the APC. This committee comprised teacher representatives, both building administrators, parents, a school board representative, a central office representative, and an Alliance-sponsored external change facilitator, or "coach." Incorporated within the new governance structure was the "triumvirate," a group of three teachers filling the elected positions of coordinator, secretary, and treasurer. Briefly, the coordinator was responsible for planning and presiding at APC meetings, facilitating with the building principal regarding APC decisions, and implementing the decisions of the APC. The secretary was to record minutes and distribute closure statements for all APC and triumvirate meetings. The treasurer was to oversee Alliance funding to the school and coordinate Alliance accounts with the district central office. The triumvirate was specifically empowered by the staff to make decisions with the principal at those times when it would be unreasonable or unwarranted for the entire APC or faculty to meet and consider an issue. Thus much of the day-to-day decision-making responsibility passed to this group in consultation with the principal. While membership of the triumvirate and APC has changed over the past 3 years and governance processes and functions have been refined, the basic structure remains unchanged.

The 1989-1990 school year was designated by the Alliance as a planning year for all member schools, with no substantive change expected. Rather, all schools were to be involved in a close and serious consideration of the direction essential schools restructuring would take at their school the following year. In preparation for the planning process, four Broadmoor teachers, the principal, and the district superintendent attended summer institute programs sponsored by the Coalition at Brown University in July 1989, to learn more about both Essential Schools and the process of bringing about change. This proved to be a seminal experience for those involved.

> We encountered grueling, mind-boggling, exhausting work. It was wonderful! Our minds were stretched to the limits as we learned how to work as a team. As conflict arose, we learned how to resolve it, how to understand each other, and how to be more accepting of differences. We learned to recognize the value each person brought to the team, and utilize our strengths. (*Broadmoor Planning Year Report*, 1990)

The process techniques and team building activities experienced by the participants in Trek I were brought back to Broadmoor and were reflected throughout the planning year as the APC, various subcommittees, and the whole faculty became involved with developing goals and strategies for restructuring.

Although the overall intent of the planning year was to develop a pilot project to begin in the fall of 1990, the staff first recognized and wrestled with two foundational issues that had to be addressed before much else could proceed. First, there was a perceived need to develop a common understanding of the underlying beliefs that had shaped the school into its current form. "This analysis is necessary before we can begin to design collectively the ways we want Broadmoor to change. We have to know where we are before we can determine where we want to go. . . . Merely changing structures will not meet the real need for long term, substantial reform in our school" (*Broadmoor Planning Year Report*, 1990). Second, the APC began to work on a restatement of the

Common Principles, as interpreted in the Broadmoor context, to develop a shared understanding of these fundamental beliefs.

Both of these initial clarifying activities assisted the school as it groped toward the development of a plan for change. The first-year implementation plan for 1990-1991 slowly took form and focused on three major changes. First, Broadmoor faculty would be divided into three "houses," with one of the houses committed to implementing essential schools principles more fully than the other two. Second, teachers' classrooms would be relocated so that teachers in the same house would be physically close to each other, encouraging interdisciplinary teaching efforts. Third, students would also be divided into the three houses with each house consisting of half seventh- and half eighth-grade students. Also, it was decided to focus whole school efforts primarily on implementing three of the common principles: student-as-worker, simple goals, and intellectual focus. The plan anticipated that each year three more principles would be added until the entire staff would be using all of the Nine Common Principles.

In preparation for the planned implementation, the summer of 1990 was heavily scheduled with conferences, workshops, and meetings for different groups of teachers and administrators, including designation of another team of three teachers and one administrator to attend Trek. This would increase the number of teachers with Trek experience to nearly one third of the staff. The culminating activity of the summer was to be a decision-making meeting on August 6 to finalize plans for implementation of the restructuring plan for the 1990-1991 school year. All staff members were invited to participate and be part of deciding how the core teams would work together to involve everyone. Over this same meticulously planned and carefully coordinated summer of activity and preparation for major change, the principal, assistant principal, and APC coordinator, for a variety of reasons, resigned and left the school.

New priorities suddenly took center stage as the school and district scrambled to replace these central positions. With substantive input and support from the staff, the new principal hired for Broadmoor was its former Alliance coach, Chuck Bowen. Because of his close relationship in working with Broadmoor as its coach through the planning year, along with a concomitant role that year as associate director of the Illinois Alliance, a large part of the continuity of understanding and intent of essential schools restructuring for Broadmoor was not lost. Linda Harris, named as the new APC coordinator, had previously served on the triumvirate and on the APC and was a Trek participant. The new assistant principal, Kathy Bauerfeind, while not experienced with Essential Schools ideas, came to the position with a rich background in collaborative, team teaching at the middle school level. Nonetheless, all three were inexperienced in the roles they were assuming. Worse, August arrived with no student schedules for the beginning of the school year.

Examination of the 1990-1991 school year shows that all three of the planned implementations for change ran into severe difficulties and none was satisfactorily implemented. Of the several convulsions and general tumult that shook Broadmoor during this year, the scheduling problem by far was the most consequential and devastating, affecting all three planned changes. The planned schedule immediately ran into numerous difficulties: schedule interferences caused by sharing teachers with other schools; schedule interferences cause by sharing students among teams; schedule interferences between core (academic) teams and exploratory (physical education, art, music, home economics, and industrial arts) classes; lack of daily common planning time for each of the houses; isolation of resource special education students; and feelings among exploratory and special education teachers that they were not an integral, important part of the restructured school. It quickly became evident to everyone that scheduling students and teachers under the plan developed in the previous year simply was unworkable. In spite of endless late night hours of effort, especially by the principal and assistant principal, a satisfactory schedule simply could not be hammered out for the three houses.

The basic plan for organization into three houses was the major contributing factor to the scheduling difficulties. Reflecting on this, the principal noted, "Three of anything just does not work. What happens is two align against the third. Sometimes the essential school house was seen as the innovator and the other two houses as duds. Or the essential school house and one other would be doing innovative things and the third house was seen as the loser." This perception of inequity permeated and affected everything and everyone connected to the school. Teachers saw it this way, as did students and parents. House assignments for teachers and students became a major issue as did the redistribution and allocation of classroom space. It became a year of endless infighting, bickering, and bad feelings.

The plan to focus on just three of the nine principles, likewise, ran into severe difficulties. "The problem we ran into was that we wanted to do other things not covered by the three principles." What became apparent to all concerned was that implementing two or three of the principles separate from the others simply would not work. The principles are interrelated and interconnected. Implementation of one or more necessitated concomitant consideration of others. The implementation of a house system designed to work toward the principle of a student-teacher ratio of 80 to 1 could not succeed without consideration of the principles of personalization, simple goals, teachers as generalists rather than specialists, and tone of decency. As the principal noted, trying to separate the principles simply "caused the whole system to grind to a halt. By not addressing all the principles, we set ourselves up to fail. The simple conclusion is that all the principles have to be addressed in order for any of them to work. All this made it [the planned changes] not work."

In spite of these major difficulties, Broadmoor proved stubbornly unwilling to abandon the restructuring effort. Because of these difficulties in the first implementation year, Broadmoor was forced to reexamine and reopen for discussion the ideas, beliefs, and understandings that had shaped its initial effort. This forced self-appraisal in light of the near-catastrophic experiences encountered during the year and provided invaluable lessons that pointed in new directions for Broadmoor's understanding of essential schools restructuring. "I think we had to go through this crisis. Looking back, I think it was absolutely necessary that we were all tested to our limits by this experience. We wouldn't be where we are today if it hadn't been for the ordeal of that year." This year was Broadmoor's trial by fire, its crucible—as its commitment to and belief in the essential schools restructuring efforts were buffeted and battered by continual waves of problems and difficulties.

Evidence of Substantive Change, 1991-1992

In spite of valiant efforts to "make it work," the untenable nature of the 1990-1991 planned changes became evident in the first months of the school year. So too did an awareness that the school was unwilling to simply abandon change efforts and return to the way things had been. This determination and resolution not to abandon the effort may have been the most significant factor in laying a foundation for the future of the restructuring effort at Broadmoor. The problems contended with were not seen as dead ends but as missteps that required correction and provided new knowledge and experience to guide further efforts. In essence, the harsh and unpleasant reality of the problems encountered provided the impetus for more strenuous efforts at reassessment and redirection. As the principal noted, "The day-to-day resistance of the teachers was absolutely necessary. It was very fortunate that it happened and tension was maintained. Otherwise people would say that this isn't so bad and be less willing to change things. It was necessary that people stayed unhappy."

In spite of the difficulties and problems posed by the unworkable schedule, the 1990-1991 school year showed gains by Broadmoor on other fronts. The formal change plans required by and submitted to the Alliance in spring 1991 evidenced a new coherence and comprehensiveness. As a written expression of Broadmoor's shared experiences and collective understandings, these provided a more thorough articulation of what essential schools restructuring would entail and how it would proceed. Included in these plans was a vision statement that provides a partial, if not complete, way of understanding what essential schools restructuring means at Broadmoor:

> The intellectual purpose of Broadmoor Junior High School is preparing productive students for the twenty-first century. Our graduates will have not only the critical thinking

> and study skills needed to question, investigate, conclude and communicate effectively, they will also have the habit of using their skills in socially responsible ways. To fill this intellectual purpose, Broadmoor must be a place where everyone—student and adult—actively uses his or her mind well every day. (*Broadmoor Implementation Year Report*, 1991)

Based on this vision statement, a 5-year plan, identifying three categories of issues considered important for creating an essential school, was also presented. The first of these categories concerned organization and governance. Issues in this category were identified as schoolwide factors that determine how decisions are both made and implemented and how the school is organized for learning. The second category concerned curriculum issues. Included in this category was a determination of what students will be expected to know and be able to do as well as appropriate means of assessing mastery. The third and final category was concerned with assessment and pedagogy. These issues were identified as those factors that reflect the science, craft, and art of teaching in ways that help students learn to use their minds well (*Broadmoor Implementation Year Report*, 1991).

Each of these categories of issues was to progress through six active stages: investigate, develop, plan, implement, revise, and perfect. Although progression through these stages was neatly charted (see Table 2.1), it was noted that, in actual practice, action in each category would unfold at its own pace.

The substantive change planned for and implemented in the 1991-1992 school year grew directly out of the determination forged by the trying experiences of the previous year and by the commitment to maintain a coherent and meaningful pace of change. As noted in Broadmoor's grant application to the Alliance for funding of the 1991-1992 effort, "This year's plan recognizes obstacles encountered last year and proposes ways of overcoming those difficulties while keeping the school on schedule with its five-year plan of whole-school implementation" (*Broadmoor Implementation Grant Application*, 1991). As well as addressing the hard lessons learned from the previous year's experience, the proposed imple-

TABLE 2.1 Overview of Broadmoor's 5-Year Implementation Plan

Year	*Organization and Governance*	*Curriculum*	*Assessment and Pedagogy*
Spring 1989	Develop ideas	Investigate	
1989-1990	Plan	Develop ideas	Investigate
1990-1991	Implement	Plan	Develop ideas
1991-1992	Revise	Implement	Plan
1992-1993	Perfect	Revise	Implement
1993-1994	Reassess	Perfect	Revise and perfect

mentation strategies remained consistent with the broad, overall plan outlined above, falling into the areas of organization and governance, curriculum, and assessment and pedagogy.

There is little doubt that the most immediate and pressing area of needed change was that of revising the school organization and schedule. As this was the most compelling and immediate issue facing the school, the constructive processes used in planning for the revised schedule deserve closer scrutiny. As well, a detailed description of these processes serves other important purposes. Most significant, this examination provides an informative and instructive template for understanding the governance and decision-making structures and processes now in place and becoming legitimized within the Broadmoor culture. These structures and processes, in and of themselves, represent significant changes within the school and highlight the integrated, interactive, and systemic nature of the restructuring process. In addition, implications of the schedule revisions affected, although more indirectly and unevenly, the areas of curriculum and assessment and pedagogical issues. In no sense could the restructuring effort at Broadmoor be called fragmented or compartmentalized. Changes in any one of the three areas consistently rippled into others. It is important to keep in mind that restructuring changes, while discussed singularly for heuristic and presentation purposes, are not so neatly bounded in reality.

The dismal and near-devastating failure of the schedule was attributable to multiple factors. First, the teachers had been novices at such an activity and had lacked an understanding of the implications of such changes. Working with little administrative guidance at that time, the ramifications of actual implementation of the schedule had not been addressed or anticipated. Grand plans had been drawn but no one had actually attempted a trial run-through of scheduling students and teachers using the plan. With the loss of both building administrators over the summer, the actual implementation of the plan to schedule students had not been attempted until it was too late. Learning from these past mistakes and with strong principal support, Broadmoor now moved early and methodically to address the process of revising the schedule for the 1991-1992 school year (see Table 2.2).

The beginnings of the planning strategy for revising the master schedule started on October 5, 1990, at a full-day institute for all Broadmoor staff. At that time, and given the existent and already clearly unworkable system, all faculty met to develop a list of priorities for a new master schedule. The day began with team building and process-oriented activities. Then, breaking into small groups, the staff worked to develop a list of priorities for scheduling. Reconvening as a whole group, priority lists from each group were shared and commonalities noted. Finally, six priorities were refined and ranked in importance for later meetings with outside scheduling consultants. These identified priorities for a new schedule included increasing usable instruction time, personalizing the learning environment, ensuring that every student is known well, ensuring success for all students, creating continuity, and integrating learning across subjects. The schedule to be developed also had to be implemented with no increase in allocation of district budgetary funds.

At the same meeting, the faculty empowered a committee of teachers and administrators to work on developing a schedule proposal. Using Alliance grant funds, the committee brought in a nationally recognized consultant in scheduling to assist them in understanding the complexities of scheduling and met with other scheduling experts at the Coalition of Essential Schools' Fall Forum in early November. From this training, preparation, and a sense of their own developing understanding, the committee developed an initial schedule proposal and presented this to the faculty on November 16, 1990. The committee received informal feedback

TABLE 2.2 Calendar of Events in Developing the Proposed Master Schedule

Date	*Participants*	*Activities*
10/5	All faculty	Full-day institute Define and rank priorities Name and empower committee
10/26	Committee	Training with consultant
11/8-11/10	Committee	Training at CES fall forum
11/15-11/16	Committee	Develop proposed schedule
11/16	All faculty	Present proposed schedule
11/19-11/30	All faculty	Informal input on proposal
12/4	APC	Formal input
12/12	Committee and exploratory teachers	Work session
12/19	All faculty	Consensus adoption of schedule
Rest of year	Trekkies	Training of staff for collaborate teaming

from the faculty for modifications and suggestions for changes to the proposed schedule through the months of November and December. Formal feedback on the schedule proposal was also solicited at the December meeting of the APC, at a work session with exploratory teachers, and at a general faculty meeting. At that later meeting on December 19, the faculty accepted the modified schedule by consensus (*Broadmoor Implementation Grant Application*, 1991).

The new schedule, as presented in Figure 2.1, divides the school into four teams (two seventh grade and two eighth grade), each containing one fourth of the school's regular and special education students (approximately 110 to 120 students). Each team's students are taught by four teachers in the core subject areas (language arts, science, math, social studies) and one special education teacher who provides resource services, acts as a consultant for addressing special learning needs, and team teaches with the other core area teachers. The exploratory teachers, in effect, constitute a fifth team, although without an assigned group

Team	8:00	8:27	9:02	9:37	10:12	10:47	11:22	11:57	12:31	1:06	1:41	2:45
7a	A/A	Block				Plan		LUNCH	Block			
7b	A/A	Block						LUNCH	Plan		Block	
8a	A/A	Plan		Block			LUNCH	Block				
8b	A/A	Block		Plan		BLOCK	LUNCH	Block				
Epl/ PE	A/A	8	8	8	8	7	7	LUNCH	7	7	Plan	

Figure 2.1. Broadmoor Junior High School: 1991-1992 Schedule

of students. As do the other four teams, they have a representative serving on APC.

The first of only two bells during the school day rings at 8 a.m., signaling the beginning of the adviser/advisee period, called Transitions, that allows students and teachers to interact in a closer and more personalized manner. (The second bell rings at the end of the school day.) All teachers, including PE and exploratory teachers and the librarian, are assigned a Transitions group of students, permitting a student-teacher ratio of 16 or 17 to one. Development of an extensive array of curriculum materials and activities for the Transitions program was completed in a summer curriculum project by paid teacher volunteers. Except for this advisory period, exploratory/PE, and lunch, each core team is empowered to make decisions that affect its own curriculum and to flexibly schedule its instructional day as the team sees fit. Students stay with their core teachers for the periods marked "Block" and go to physical education and alternating exploratory classes during the periods marked "Plan." The flexibility of the schedule and the provision for common planning time allow teachers to work together as they personalize instruction and integrate study across subject areas. The only guideline that had to be followed was that no team decision could affect others in the school without those affected first being involved in some manner in the decision-making process.

The changes in the schedule rippled through all other efforts at essential schools restructuring. Personalization of teaching and learning is promoted through the adviser/advisee program (Transitions) as well as with the formation of core teams. With the empowering of the core teams, the governance structure of the APC had to be changed to accommodate greater faculty representation and involvement in decision making. Also as a part of the scheduling change, each team is examining, developing, and evaluating pedagogical techniques of critical thinking skills, whole language approaches, concept mapping, cooperative learning, performance assessment, exhibitions, and modalities of learning. As part of an effort to address the Coalition belief that "less is more" in the way of curriculum, the language arts curricula were reworked over the summer to teach the essentials of reading and communicating. Each team now works to coordinate language arts with the other subject areas. In this way as in others, teachers in each team are finding, in their own way and at their own pace, means of working as generalists as they share in a variety of cross-disciplinary projects.

Even more telling may be the positive and supportive ripples of change felt by the participants themselves. From teachers: "It used to be that we'd show up the first day of school and be handed our schedule. Now we own the schedule. . . . [It] gives teachers value. We're treated with respect." "I have never been more excited about my profession than I am now" (cited in Sezener, 1991, p. 12). "Last year I hated it. I thought it was stupid and totally wrong. This year, well, there are still some rough spots that need to be worked out, but I love the new schedule. The classes are smaller and we have to be more organized than ever. It's great." From parents: "I feel good about it. The teachers are so enthusiastic. I have a good feeling about it." "When I come into Broadmoor, everyone makes me feel welcome, like I belong here. Broadmoor is more flexible and not so structured [as other schools]. All these things make sense to me. The teachers work together and it really helps. They provide a model for the kids of how to work together and they show that they enjoy it." From administrators: "The staff is so dedicated. The mission of this school puts the kids first. . . . The faculty gets a lot of good feelings from seeing how well this works with kids. That's what keeps us all going." While not telling the whole story, student reaction may be at least indirectly indicated by examining out-of- and in-school suspension rates for the first 6 months of 1990-1991 and 1991-1992. Out-of-school suspensions for 1990-1991 were 54 students for 189 days of suspension; in 1991-1992, the rate was 11 students for 38 days. The in-school suspension rate for 1990-1991 was 277 students for 521 days; in 1991-1992, it was 42 students for 107 days. While not establishing any kind of causal relationship, the data suggest an important change in the pattern of student-school interactions.

The schedule change had implications for and interconnections with other significant areas of the school because of changes in governance and decision-making structures and processes. These changes in governance structures served as the linchpin that interconnected this one restructuring initiative with the other important dimensions of schooling, thus making the schedule change a systemic change. How the teaching-learning activity of schools is structurally represented and who determines that organization influence everyone's understanding and beliefs about schooling. Much of what has been accomplished at Broadmoor can be traced back to the fundamental governance question, "Who decides?" and the resounding answer: "the teachers." Because of the governance and decision-making changes made at Broadmoor, the teachers own the changes being implemented and understand that ownership. This is more than an empty or static expression of sentiment. For example, in revising the schedule, it became evident that, to accommodate common planning time for the teams, a new teacher position would be necessary for the schedule to work. Laboring under a "zero-based" budget requirement, the scheduling committee generated alternatives and the faculty made the decision to cut other positions to find the money for a new teacher in the core academic subjects.

A second example is also illustrative. A committee of teachers, representative of all four core instructional teams, spent part of the summer of 1991 measuring inch by inch every part of available floor space and deciding how the area should be reallocated to satisfactorily accommodate the four teams and common, shared space. By the second week of school, the principal gleefully noted, the commons area for student group study had been moved three times—by consensus agreement reached among the teachers—and he suspected that it would be moved again. At Broadmoor, issues of "who decides" are governed by the common understandings that (a) individuals have the responsibility of making decisions that affect them; (b) if a decision affects others (teachers, support staff, administrators), these individuals must be involved in the decision making; (c) once a decision is made, everyone must abide by it until or unless it is unmade by those who made it; and (d) everyone has an obligation to keep everyone else informed of what's happening. These changes in the governance and decision-making process are the glue that holds together and supports the entire effort. Such structural changes are a necessary, but not sufficient, means for achieving substantive change. A network of relationships among other significant factors must also exist.

Why It Works: Essential Supports

Evidence that the substantive changes being made at Broadmoor are moving the school significantly toward a goal of being an essential school leads to the question of why restructuring efforts appear to be working at this school. In examining these factors, it becomes evident that reasons for success, much like the different aspects of the restructuring effort itself, are highly interconnected, interdependent, and interrelated. None stands by itself and the overall significance is greater than a sum of the individual parts.

Conceptual Grasp of Essential School Precepts

It has been suggested that substantive and systemic restructuring requires "smart" people and "smart" schools (Prestine, in press). In other words, a willingness to change and even material resource capabilities to assist with change may not be enough, although both are certainly helpful and, perhaps, necessary. Especially in essential schools restructuring, much is required and demanded of schools in developing levels of understandings to be able to assume the new tasks and responsibilities necessary for systemic restructuring. Not only must a school and the teachers enter the relatively uncharted and turbulent waters of implementing such a restructuring policy but they must actually develop the policy itself. This policy development hinges on individual school understandings and interpretation of the Nine Common Principles.

Evidence is accruing that many schools' conceptual understanding of what "essential schools restructuring" means and requires is less than satisfactory, in spite of determined efforts by the schools themselves and the Coalition to clarify these matters ("Lessons from the Trenches," 1990; McCarthy, 1989; Prestine, 1992; Sizer, 1989a). Vagueness or uncertainty of understanding are likely lead to disappointing results. As the old adage reminds us: "It's hard to get somewhere, if you don't know where you are going."

Broadmoor addressed this issue of understanding early on and was able to articulate an understanding clearly. This is reflected in both the vision statement and Broadmoor's interpretation of the Nine Common Principles (see *Broadmoor Implementation Year Report*, 1991). This clarity of understanding and the ability to articulate the essential school philosophy in the context of Broadmoor can be explained in part by the large proportion of the faculty that has attended Trek and other coalition-sponsored workshop sessions. More important is the fundamental recognition at Broadmoor that this understanding is developmental and is evolving as the school moves through the restructuring process. It is seen as an active, systemic, and continuing learning process for the individuals as well as the school as a whole—in essence, a continuing demonstration of learning to "use their minds well."

This level of understanding is evidenced by individuals at all levels of the system, from teachers to the superintendent. The deepening understanding and growing expertise at Broadmoor also has been recognized by the Coalition. Several Broadmoor teachers have been hired by the Coalition to assist with summer training institutes, like the Trek experience. One teacher has been named to the Citibank Faculty, a group of Coalition-identified, experienced essential schools teachers who receive additional specialized training with CES to coach and work intensively with essential schools teachers in their classroom settings. The principal has been named a Thomson Fellow, another Coalition-sponsored program that recognizes essential schools principals exhibiting exceptional leadership qualities. The superintendent has been named to the Coalition's District Faculty, a distinction parallel to that of being named a Thomson Fellow or to Citibank Faculty membership.

Changes in Ideas, Beliefs, and Attitudes

From the beginning of the essential schools restructuring effort, there was a fundamental and systemic recognition that structural changes, while necessary, would not be sufficient for the kind of change envisioned. "Merely changing structures will not meet the real need for long term, substantial reform in our school. Changing understandings, actions, and beliefs is harder, but, reciprocally, cannot be sustained without structural support" (*Broadmoor Planning Year Report,* 1990). In Coalition jargon, Broadmoor works to "continue the conversation" by maintaining a focus on involving everyone in the school to the degree to which they feel comfortable. This is accomplished by encouraging faculty to attend Coalition and Alliance meetings, to visit other Coalition schools, and to participate on the APC. In more subtle and important ways, the school culture is becoming imbued with Essential Schools ideas and processes that are difficult to separate from what now is accepted as "the way we keep school."

Changing beliefs and attitudes required a different approach by everyone concerned. One important piece of this effort was the recognition of the school leaders that any such changes could not come from the top down. As the superintendent, Dr. Jerry Parker, noted,

> I used to go out to meetings and get excited by some new ideas. I couldn't wait to get back and share it with the teachers. But no one was interested in my revelation. It was only when I stepped back and let them go out, hear these things and then share their experience with me that things began to change. Whole teams have to go, have the same common experience and come back with the same information base. That's what provides the support base for these efforts.

Sophistication and Complexity of Restructuring

Part of the success at Broadmoor is also due to an understanding of the complexity of restructuring and a willingness to expend the effort needed to address this complexity. All of the planned changes of the past year reflect a basic recognition of the interconnectedness of all the parts through attention to detail. Thus none of the projects undertaken could be described as a one-shot, bounded effort, disconnected from the larger pattern and progression of the school in the restructuring effort. A good example of this understanding was the Broadmoor Excellent Adventure project. Given the major organizational changes that would be instituted for the 1991-1992 school year, there was a need to get the year off to a good start, to set a positive tone, and to ease any apprehensions left over from the previous year. This need had been discussed by the faculty and a committee had been empowered to address this concern. What they developed was the Broadmoor Excellent Adventure, a kind of "outward bound" retreat that would allow students and teachers to get to know each well and set the tenor for the school year. As noted in a memo from the principal, "To help win over parents and students, everyone needs to begin with an equal 'bang' before the four teams begin growing in their own directions."

In cooperation with the Pekin Park District and volunteer parents, a series of seven team building, critical thinking, and group decision-making activities were set up in stations around the city park. Students were teamed together in what would be their Transitions groups (including their Transitions teacher) for the school year. The goals of the adventure were consistent with and contributed to the school's goals for the essential schools changes: to increase the students' sense of personal confidence, to increase mutual support within a group, to develop abilities that contribute to group decision making, to foster appreciation and respect for individual differences, and to develop an appreciation of the interdisciplinary nature of real problem solving. Consistent as well with the thoroughness with which the activity was designed, each group also went through a debriefing session after they returned to school.

This kind of effort and attention to detail reveals not only a grasp of the complexity of the restructuring but also a fundamental understanding of the interrelatedness and the supportiveness and contributions of the parts to the whole. Numerous other examples can be found that illustrate the same principle in teacher decisions creating separate team offices for team members to meet for common planning, approving alliance funds being spent to install phones in each office to facilitate parent contact, and requesting establishment of team, rather than departmental, budgets.

A Flexible Process Orientation

One of the most striking elements of Broadmoor's restructuring effort is the emphasis on process. Everything that is done—the changes made, the activities initiated—is seen as means, not an end. Thus the overwhelming perception is of change that is not only continuous and seamless but also erratic and differential in impact. Nothing is done with the attitude: "Well, we're through that. Now we have that piece in place and can move on to something else." Everything is tied together, part and parcel, into a whole that is continually being changed by initiatives in specific areas. Even the 5-year plan and the vision statement are seen as tools for change. As the principal commented,

> I see "vision" as a present tense verb. It's something that is being developed and changing all the time. It serves a

> highly symbolic function and becomes a myth for the school. But if you try to use it all the time, it stunts progress. It's merely an expression of what we agreed upon on a given day and cannot be held as an accurate reflection beyond that point.

This larger understanding of a flexible process orientation is critical to what has happened at Broadmoor and is reflected in the attention given to team building activities at all levels. It is also inherently consistent with the underlying Coalition disdain for predesigned models in which change can measured in the accomplishment of a series of discrete and linear means-ends tasks. According to the coordinator, Linda Harris,

> Essential schools is an ongoing process of change, but even the Coalition doesn't present it this way. Trek shouldn't be presented as a workshop, but as the beginning on the process you then take back and use in your school. Too many schools think of restructuring as disconnected pieces. Even the Coalition doesn't know how it [restructuring] fits together. That's what the school has to decide.

Supportive Role of the Superintendent

For essential schools restructuring to succeed, the larger organizational configuration of the school district has to present an amenable and congenial environment for these changes, and the superintendent is a key player in determining this "fit" (Prestine, in press). The superintendent is central to the restructuring process and, at the same time, a largely unseen player. He or she must share the same information and understanding of the essential schools restructuring process but also be willing to assume a relatively behind-the-scenes role. According to Dr. Jerry Parker, superintendent of District 108,

> I went with the first team to the Coalition's summer institute so I have the same information base. I witnessed the same things, shared the same experiences. It became easy

> for me to be encouraging, supporting and protecting. A superintendent has to be willing to take risks with them, but also to get out of the way then so that it's their project. My role is absolutely critical and this [essential schools restructuring] wouldn't happen without me. Where it's not happening, it's because superintendents aren't doing the things they should be doing. They can't let go of old notions of leadership. You can't be interested in establishing *what I have done*. There has to be a willingness not to get recognition. This isn't Jerry Parker's essential school.

Yet, in spite of the lack of direct visibility, Dr. Parker's role is clearly recognized and appreciated by the Broadmoor teachers. As Linda Harris noted,

> He has invested heavily in teachers through professional development opportunities. He has valued us going out and has gone with us many times. This has given all of us the same common knowledge base. He knows what we're doing and can communicate this to the Board and educate them about essential schools. We have made the changes. We have decided, but it happened because of him.

In the Broadmoor district, the role of the superintendent is one that is thoughtfully understood, is carefully negotiated, and centers on two primary functions: supporting and protecting the restructuring effort. "My main function is to create a culture in which they [the staff at Broadmoor] can flourish and all my energy goes into this." This is accomplished primarily by the superintendent's efforts in establishing and maintaining a solid network of relationships between schools in the district, among parents and community, and with the board of education.

> I have to get out of their [Broadmoor's] way so they can develop something of substance. This means you have to be encouraging, supporting and reinforcing, but never imposing. At the same time I have to protect them. If there

> is any backlash, there has to be a core network of relations built up that can buffer the school. A lot of what I do is in the background to protect them.

As Linda Harris commented, "We don't know about a lot of what he does and we don't have to. We just know he's there doing things for us. It's like when a rock is dropped into a pond. You can feel the ripples but you don't know exactly what the rock was."

Systemic Application and Use of Philosophy

A final reason for success may be that Broadmoor has made a holistic application and use of the essential schools philosophy and understandings on a systemic level. In other words, the essential schools precepts are not seen merely as something that is applied to or used with the students in the classrooms but as the guiding and defining philosophy for the entire system. Everyone is working toward "using their minds well" as new roles and new responsibilities are assumed and relationships are redefined. In the process of learning how to assume new roles in collaborative, cooperative teams and new responsibilities in governance and decision making, teachers model much of the same development in interpersonal interactions and problem-solving processes they want students to develop. Learning proceeds at all levels.

The systemic application of common understandings and beliefs about schooling is directly tied to the dedicated use of process-oriented means. Both reflect the importance given to the restructuring effort at Broadmoor. As one of the teachers and a member of the triumvirate, LaVon Dawson, noted,

> We use team building with group decision making all the time now, not only on issues that are concerned with essential school things. At every point of group decision making, we work on focusing on process rather than outcomes. A problem solving approach just seems to work well for us.

As these fundamental understandings permeate every part of organizational life, the likelihood of acceptance, legitimization, and institutionalization increase.

Implications

Several implications can be drawn from the above discussion of essential schools restructuring at Broadmoor. Two related caveats must be addressed, however, before examining these implications. First, in discussing these implications, it must be kept in mind that any analysis of an ongoing restructuring process inherently represents only a partial understanding of the whole. As Greenfield (1986) has noted, the important facts of organizational life "rest upon the interpretation and upon the interpretation of interpretations in a process that continues without end and without ever reaching the definitive statement, the final judgement, or the ultimate social truth" (p. 151). The dynamics of the restructuring experience can be captured, at best, incompletely. In the Broadmoor case, some elements have come to the foreground, while others, probably of equal significance in other contexts, faded into the background.

Because of this, the reasons that restructuring at Broadmoor seems to be working should not be taken as a prescription for successful restructuring efforts, or even as an indicator of continued success at Broadmoor. If anything can be gleaned from this one case, it is that restructuring is a collaborative, interactive, and systemic experience situated in a given context. The process is always tenuous and dependent on a host of factors that gain varying degrees of significance and importance across both time and a multidimensional, fluctuating context. Thus this analysis in no way discounts the factors identified as significant in restructuring by other researchers (Bacharach, 1990; Firestone, 1989; Fullan, 1991; Huberman & Miles, 1984; Miles & Ekholm, 1991; Murphy, 1991). Notwithstanding these cautions, it seems important to examine some implications in light of what this one case suggests about understanding restructuring in general and essential schools restructuring in particular. These implications include suggestions for new conceptualizations and understandings of restructuring and the process of restructuring as well as possible lessons of interest from the Broadmoor experience for others involved in or contemplating restructuring efforts.

First, it is obvious that there are no surprises in the analysis of supportive factors. All of the factors listed have been mentioned, in one way or another, in other studies of change processes. If there is a difference, it may be in the way these factors should be understood. The basis of the conceptualization of the reasons for success is much the same as the conceptualization of the restructuring effort previously described. These support factors need to be understood as being situated, systemic, and based on foundational levels of understanding. As well, these support factors or reasons for success, like the different aspects of the restructuring effort, are highly interconnected, interdependent, and interrelated. It bears repeating that none stands by itself and that the overall significance of these factors is greater than a sum of their individual parts.

Among the reasons underlying the success that has been experienced at Broadmoor in moving toward becoming an essential school, one critical factor stands out and, stretching the metaphor a bit, serves as the linchpin in the larger milieu of support factors. That factor is the level of understanding. All the identified supports for change discussed above either incorporate the term *understanding* or should be thought of as having the prefix *a substantive understanding of* before them. Implicitly then, these factors should not be thought of in any way as a checklist—a collection of barren, static, and compartmentalized objects one possesses. That would be to deny the fundamentally situated, systemic, and interactive nature of the supports.

This also implies a different understanding of the process of systemic restructuring. Too often, change processes are seen simplistically, as the function of a linear progression. There is a tendency to separate out pieces (usually major pieces) of change, to focus on these and to accept explanations of the pieces as explanations of the whole. Even if the piece focused on is also the center of a major effort, this only means that other parts are simply being pushed aside temporarily to conserve energy. But the connections still exist, as latency in one area is directly connected to energy being diverted in another direction. The principal of Broadmoor likened this understanding to the development of a young child:

> A young child is developing in a whole array of different areas—motor skills, language skills, thinking processes, social skills. At different times one or some combination of these developmental areas comes to the forefront and the others remain static or even regress for this push in one area. The process is not linear. There is a spurt in one area, like a thrust in personalization, and development falls away in other areas. You might even go back to old habits and ways for a while. The important thing is that the general flow is forward but each element's development is erratic.

There is little from an examination of the Broadmoor case that would seem to discount this view.

Another implication concerns the sticky issue of generalizability. Perhaps at least three general lessons can be gleaned from the Broadmoor experience. First, the loss of personnel in key positions does not have to spell the end for restructuring efforts. The loss of the principal, assistant principal, and coordinator were traumatic but not devastating events. Systemic leadership and commitment to the restructuring effort helped Broadmoor ride out this storm and stay on course. Second, restructuring is difficult, risky business. Numerous conflicts and situations that have the potential for scuttling the restructuring effort will continually present themselves. As the superintendent, Dr. Parker, noted, "If you don't want conflict and problems, then you shouldn't try this. If you're worried about threats or a backlash, or afraid to take risks that might jeopardize your job, then you'll back off when times get tough (and they will get tough) and everything will disintegrate." Third, mistakes not only will be made but should be expected. While careful planning is an essential, the best laid plans are always based on what is known and understood at the time. There should be an expectation that things will go awry as the accumulation of knowledge and wisdom progresses.

There are other factors within the context of this case that argue against generalization much beyond this point. It seems likely that any successful essential schools restructuring effort will be difficult to export for several reasons. First, what works at one school is just as likely not to work at another. One should not blithely erase existing structures and abandon current processes under the assumption that success will come by importing the Broadmoor essential schools experience. Even more significant, there is simply nothing to import. The written documents from Broadmoor at best are but an empty shell of the actual process experienced and understood by the participants. Finally, while there may be a less than clear understanding of why this particular restructuring effort appears to be successful, it does seem obvious that the particular individuals involved played a critical role. Unfortunately, they cannot be cloned and their unique understandings and contributions cannot be duplicated.

A great deal can be done to assist other schools to improve their efforts, such as providing training in team building and process skills. Unlike the experience of Saul on the road to Damascus, however, miraculous conversions into insightful understanding should not be expected. Schools' past histories, understandings, and beliefs will not be effortlessly eradicated, nor will recalcitrant teachers be magically transformed into malleable material, nor will obdurate administrators suddenly be enlightened into wisdom. The process of essential schools restructuring must be understood as one that will be long, difficult, and painful and one in which each school must, to a large extent, find its own way. There is no silver bullet, no template that can be mapped out from one school's experience to serve for others. While there is an overall progression of development, each school's journey over the turbulent waters of restructuring, by necessity, will be different in important ways.

References

Bacharach, S. B. (Ed.). (1990). *Education reform: Making sense of it all.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Broadmoor Implementation Grant Application. (1991). (Available from the Illinois Alliance of Essential Schools, 372 Education Building, 1310 South Sixth Street, Champaign, IL 61820)

Broadmoor Implementation Year Report. (1991). (Available from the Illinois Alliance of Essential Schools, 372 Education Building, 1310 South Sixth Street, Champaign, IL 61820)

Broadmoor Planning Year Report. (1990). (Available from the Illinois Alliance of Essential Schools, 372 Education Building, 1310 South Sixth Street, Champaign, IL 61820)

Firestone, W. A. (1989). Using reform: Conceptualizing district initiative. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 11*(2), 151-164.

Fullan, M. (1985). Change process and strategies at the local level. *The Elementary School Journal, 84*(3), 391-420.

Fullan, M. (1991). *The new meaning of educational change.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Greenfield, T. B. (1986). Leaders and schools: Willfulness and nonnatural order in organizations. In T. J. Sergiovanni & J. E. Corbally (Eds.), *Leadership and organizational culture: New perspectives on administrative theory and practice* (pp. 142-169). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Huberman, M., & Miles, M. (1984). *Innovation up close.* New York: Plenum.

Illinois Alliance of Essential Schools. (1988). *Getting started.* (Available from the Illinois Alliance of Essential Schools, 372 Education Building, 1310 South Sixth Street, Champaign, IL 61820)

Lessons from the trenches. (1990, February 26). *U.S. News & World Report,* p. 50.

McCarthy, R. (1989, February 12). *Membership.* (Internal memorandum available from R. McCarthy)

Miles, M. B., & Ekholm, M. (1991, April). *Will new structures stay restructured?* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Researchers Association, Chicago.

Murphy, J. (1991). *School restructuring: Capturing and assessing the phenomena.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Prestine, N. A. (1992, April). *Benchmarks of change: Assessing essential schools restructuring efforts.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Prestine, N. A. (in press). Shared decision making in restructuring essential schools: The role of the principal. *Planning & Changing.*

Prospectus. (1988). (Available from the Coalition of Essential Schools, Brown University, Education Department, Box 1938, Providence, RI 02912)

Sezener, D. (1991, June). The makings of a revolution in education. *Illinois Issues*, pp. 10-13.

Sizer, T. R. (1989a). *The evaluation committee's report.* (Internal memorandum available from T. Sizer)

Sizer, T. R. (1989b). *Colleagues and conversation: The conversation from schoolhouse to statehouse.* (Available from the Education Commission of the State Re: Learning, 1869 Lincoln Street, Suite 300, Denver, CO 80295)

Sizer, T. R. (1991). No pain, no gain. *Educational Leadership, 48*(8), 32-34.

3

Hollibrook Accelerated Elementary School

JANE McCARTHY
SUZANNE STILL

Hollibrook Elementary School in the Spring Branch Independent School District in Houston, Texas, is one of the more than 150 Accelerated Schools around the nation. Hollibrook's transformation from one of the most dismal schools in the district to one of the most exciting and successful schools is one that bears witness to the fact that ordinary teachers, administrators, students, families, and community can achieve extraordinary results by working together with a unified vision of what school should be and a process for getting there. In just 3 years, the efforts and hard work of the school community have yielded exciting dividends on both quantitative and qualitative measures of progress.

Hollibrook is located in a neighborhood that used to be composed of well-kept middle-class homes. The area is now dominated by several large government-subsidized apartment complexes in which minority families, many Hispanic and newly arrived immigrants from Central and South America, make their homes. They may live with several families in a unit and may be illegal immigrants to the United States, fleeing from countries in which poverty and despair abound and wars raged around them.

The children from these families came to Hollibrook. As they began to come, the middle-class white families began to take their children out of Hollibrook and send them to nearby private schools. Soon the school became very large, with more than 1,000 students; 85% of these students entered the school speaking little or no English. More than 35 countries of natural origin are represented at Hollibrook. Some students have never attended school before because of the wars and upheaval in their native lands. Currently, 91% of the students are classified as minority and 92% are classified as low SES.

In 1987, before the school embarked on the Accelerated Schools Process, the student turnover rate at Hollibrook was 104%, with children entering and leaving the school several times during the course of the year. In addition to other economic and social factors contributing to this high rate of transience, local apartment owners were offering one month free rent when families rented an apartment. The families would live in the apartment for a month and then move on to another.

Scores on standardized tests, both state and national, found Hollibrook in the bottom 25th percentile, with the low SES and the LEP (limited English proficient) students faring most poorly. Surveys administered to teachers and students indicated that morale and self-esteem were low. Discipline was also a major concern at the school. Vandalism was high and parental involvement was almost nonexistent. Attendance at PTA meetings averaged from 25 to 45 parents. Parent conferences found many teachers with few parents in attendance. By almost every measure, Hollibrook was a school that was not succeeding.

A new principal was appointed to the school in fall 1987. To say she was not happy about the assignment would be an understatement. Hollibrook's reputation as the "dumper" school of the district, where teachers and administrators were sent when they could not succeed elsewhere, did not make it a plum assignment. When the principal arrived at the school, she found low self-esteem and morale for both the students and the faculty. It was not a happy school. The principal decided she could not bear to work in such an environment and set about searching for some vehicle for change. She found an article written by Henry M. Levin of Stanford University (Levin, 1987) in which he outlined his ideas about a new process for school restructuring, which he called the Accelerated Schools Process. As the principal states, "It was like he was inside my head and had been inside of my school. Everything he had to say in that article made sense. All the pieces of the puzzle were assembled. These things were here all the time, but Levin's article helped me to see it all in perspective."

The principal xeroxed the article and distributed it to the faculty. Together, they read it, underlined it, and discussed it. The consensus of the faculty was that the article did speak to the specifics of life in Hollibrook. As teachers studied and discussed, they became excited about the possibilities of starting to use the process spelled out by Levin in the article. So the Hollibrook community overwhelmingly adopted the Accelerated Schools Process as their vehicle for radical change at the school. After a year of careful study and collection of baseline data (1987-1988), the new principal and her school community launched the program in earnest in fall 1988.

The Accelerated Schools Process

To understand the Hollibrook experience, it is important to have a general understanding of the Accelerated Schools Process. The Accelerated Schools Project is a comprehensive approach to school change designed to improve schooling for students in at-risk situations so that they enter the educational mainstream by the end of elementary school (Hopfenberg, Levin, Meister, & Rogers, 1990; Levin, 1986, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c). Defined here as students for whom there is a mismatch between the experiences they bring from home, family, and community and those on which the standard school curriculum is based, at-risk students currently account for approximately one third of all elementary and secondary students in the nation, and the number is rising (Pallas, Natriello, & McDill, 1989). There currently are more than 150 schools nationwide that are engaging in the process of acceleration by making institutional changes that emphasize high expectations, unity of purpose, decision-making roles for each member of the school community, and an approach to teaching and learning that is usually reserved for gifted students—the use of enriched and accelerated curriculum and instruction. A process of collaborative inquiry is used to identify challenge areas and move the individual school toward its own unique solutions. It is expected that it will take a period of approximately 6 years for the full transformation of a traditional school into an Accelerated School (Levin, 1986, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c; McCarthy, Hopfenberg, & Levin, 1991).

Accelerated Schools strive to develop the capacity at the local school site for teacher empowerment and decision making. Accelerated Schools strive to build on the strengths of all members of the school community by involving them in collaborative leadership and decision making that will lead the school to the agreed-upon vision.

The Accelerated Schools Process necessitates new ways of doing things in schools and creates an initial period of role ambiguity and conflict. The empowerment of teachers creates conflicting expectations for behavior. Teachers are suddenly thrust from the safe isolation of their classrooms into the larger world of the school. There is much confusion about what decisions they can and should make (Clift, Johnson, & Holland, 1990). This chapter will attempt to tell the story of how one school, Hollibrook Elementary, successfully implemented the process of acceleration and transformed the culture of the school community into one of productivity and collaboration.

How It Began at Hollibrook

The Hollibrook community—composed of teachers, staff, administration, students, parents, and the local community—began the process of acceleration by taking stock of the current situation. This was a much more comprehensive process than any of the members had ever engaged in before, even for school accreditation visits. In the Accelerated Schools Process, every aspect of the school and community is looked at in terms of strengths and challenges. Data were gathered in many different ways. Committees were established to do the data collection. Every staff member and administrator served on at least one committee.

One of the first things the staff at Hollibrook did was write a student survey. Every child in the school, prekindergarten through fifth grade, completed it. The teachers and students looked at the results, analyzed them, disaggregated them by SES, LEP, gender, ethnicity, and age, and looked at them again. A teacher survey and a parent survey were designed, administered, and analyzed in the same way. The surveys were designed to determine perceptions, attitudes, and concerns. Did students perceive themselves to be academically capable? Were students afraid at school? Did students like to read? Did parents feel comfortable and welcome at school? Did teachers think that their students would graduate from high school? The information from these surveys was used in the development of the school vision.

Hollibrook also analyzed and disaggregated standardized test data. They reviewed archival data, such as information on student and teacher transience and attendance. They examined demographic data to find out who was coming to the school and who lived in the school community. They focused on data that they hadn't ever thought of looking at before, such as how many children visit the clinic each day, library circulation disaggregated by SES, and the frequency of "gang"-related graffiti throughout the school. When formal data were gathered, the committees turned to ethnographic data that might expand their picture of the school.

Committees also began to cooperate with each other and share information. For example, the group looking at bilingual education asked the group looking at student achievement for information that might be relevant for their study. Committees did not look for solutions. Their sole function was to gather data and make sense of it in terms of the daily life of the school.

Once the data were collected, the committees coded the responses and findings and displayed them in the teachers' lounge on sentence strips. The data were categorized as "celebrations," things that were positive about the school, and "concerns," areas that might need to be changed or improved. The data stayed there on the walls for several weeks while everyone looked at them and discussed them and what they meant. The school as a whole then met and each committee presented its findings.

All 100 staff members met in the cafeteria to begin forging a strategic plan. The activity started out slowly, but, as people began to voice their opinions, it snowballed and soon most, if not all, were involved. Sentence strips were combined into meaningful groupings. For example, one teacher broke the ice by going up and collecting all data that dealt with parental involvement and grouping them together. Once groupings had been made, the teachers then said, OK, we have identified parental involvement as an area of priority for this school. Let's go back and see what Levin had to say about parental involvement. Soon all the data were chunked into meaningful categories and the major areas of concern for the school had been identified.

Establishing a Vision for the School

Once all the data were collected and analyzed, the school community met to formalize their collaborative vision for what the school should be for children, staff, and families. This vision was developed over time by means of a series of meetings and activities designed for this purpose by the principal with input from the teachers. Every Wednesday, the school staff met after school and began to define what was meant by terms commonly used in the school, such as *trust, nurturing, developmentally appropriate,* and so on. Soon everyone was using a common vocabulary with agreed-upon meanings. Other activities included looking at the mission and goals of the campus plan of the previous year and pulling the plan apart to analyze its relevance. At other times, teams would brainstorm about what the perfect school would look like. Over time, the vision became so pervasive that everyone understood it and knew what it was. Everyone in the school knew where they were going, how they were going to get there, and how long the trip would take. They all were using the same road map.

Action Plans: Setting Priorities

When all the data had been analyzed and the school vision had been developed, it was time to set priorities for action by comparing the "what is" with the dream. Once the priorities were identified and agreed upon, the school reorganized itself for action using the governance structure suggested by Accelerated Schools. A steering committee was established, which was composed of the principal and two assistant principals and representatives from each of the task forces. Task forces were established to work on each of the collaboratively decided-upon priority areas—parental involvement, marketing, staff development, campus improvement, and curriculum. Teachers self-selected onto these teams and there was some voluntary reshuffling to equalize membership.

The Inquiry Process

At the heart of the Accelerated Schools Process is collaborative inquiry. The inquiry process is used to identify challenge areas and move a school toward its own unique solutions. Task forces use the inquiry process as they attempt to understand the nature of their challenge area by exploring it fully and in all its aspects, search for possible solutions inside and outside the school, synthesize potential solutions, pilot test selected solutions, and evaluate the effectiveness of these solutions. (For a more complete description of this process, see Hopfenberg et al., 1990; Polkinghorn, Bartels, & Levin, 1990.)

The Hollibrook task forces had used the inquiry process while they were taking stock and then set about exploring the identified challenge areas in the same manner. As the principal states, "Everything at this school became data driven and research based. The inquiry process gave us the tools we needed to identify and solve our problems. Teachers became learners as well as researchers. We became a learning organization."

Hollibrook and Family Involvement

A priority for the Hollibrook community was the involvement of parents and families in the educational lives of their children. When the data showed that parents were not coming to school, the school decided to go to the parents. Teams of teachers and the principal went out to the large apartment complexes and sent people door-to-door to announce, "The teachers are here!" Soon curious groups of parents began to trickle down to the community rooms where the Hollibrook staff were waiting. They explained the school to the parents and talked about the reasons certain things were done, asked parents if they had any questions, and then drank coffee and played pool with the families. These and other similar activities soon began to break down the barriers. The Parent Involvement Task Force established courses for parents on immigration procedures, citizenship studies, and parenting skills. Parents began coming to school.

Once parents felt more comfortable coming to the school, teachers began to encourage them to serve on committees. Understanding that parents were uncertain about just what this might entail, teachers served as mentors and partners with them on these committees. Capacity building of parental strengths was occurring. Parents began to volunteer in meaningful ways in the school and attendance at nighttime meetings began to increase dramatically. Within a short time, families became integral members of the school community. The task force continues to reinforce this involvement and to find new ways for families to contribute to the educational success of all the children in the school.

Hollibrook and the Community

Realizing that the school alone could not accomplish all of its goals, Hollibrook turned to the larger community for support. Teachers began to write short grant applications for specific needs. Local business and government officials were invited to attend school functions and were kept informed of school activities. Successes of the school were celebrated in public ways—such as on the school marquee and on donated billboard space on the highway. Teachers learned to use the press for information as well as celebration. Soon, area businesses were donating equipment, materials, and supplies. Several local companies sent volunteers to the school on a weekly basis to tutor or teach special lessons. Teachers found that many local citizens wanted to help schools but had never been asked to and did not know what they could do. Hollibrook let them know, and many were happy to get involved.

Teacher Empowerment and Principal Leadership

At Hollibrook, the Accelerated Schools Process brought about a change in the power structure in the school. New leadership arose as teachers and staff who previously had been afraid to take risks started to explore new ways of doing things. As teachers became learners and experts in areas of curriculum and instruction, other teachers in the building began to look to them for expertise. For example, one teacher got excited about cooperative learning. She read about it, attended some training, and came back and tried it out in her classroom. Other teachers looked to her for leadership and she was asked to conduct workshops for other interested teachers.

The Accelerated Schools Process involves all members of the school community in decision making. Membership on task forces uncovered leadership talents and strengths that had remained dormant in the traditional school. The teachers and principal were amazed at the strengths uncovered during the process.

Empowerment, however, can be frightening and intimidating. As one teacher describes it,

> As a teacher, being empowered in the way we are now is really scary at first because you're not used to it. At the beginning you have some doubts. You're really not sure if what they're saying is true. And it's also very scary because you're going to be held accountable for the decisions that you make. It's not like, "We did this because you said to, and if it doesn't work, it's your fault." . . . But, I think

> that once everyone saw how much better it was to be empowered, people were no longer apprehensive. And it's not as if you're going it alone. You've got a group of people there for support, and everybody works together.

Once Hollibrook teachers became empowered to make decisions, the school became an exciting place. One teacher remarked, "Our becoming an Accelerated School has made teaching exciting. It makes teaching seem really worthwhile." Another teacher stated, "We operate our school on the philosophy, 'If it works, do it!' When you get your set of kids, find out what they need and go for it. Through active learning, our kids are learning math, reading, social skills, and logical thinking much more effectively than through paper exercises."

The people in this school have been empowered by the inquiry process. The principal states, "They believe that there is not a problem in this school that they cannot solve." Teachers now have input into all school decisions ranging from budget to personnel.

The dramatic change in the power structure of the school was not linear but full of stops and starts as people tested new roles and ways of doing things. Most teachers have not received training in leadership, and it was a mistake to think that they automatically knew how to assume responsibility outside of the classroom. The Staff Development Task Force met the challenge by providing training and videotapes on leadership. They also provided information about the traumas of change and paradigm shifts. Readings that dealt with these topics were provided for teachers and discussions took place at faculty meetings, where pitfalls and snags in the process could be discussed.

Teachers also ran into some snags in their management of the school budget, another area in which they had little training. The copy machine ran out of paper in March and there was no money left in the budget. So the teachers ran to the principal to ask her to solve the problem. She informed them that, because they had developed the budget, they needed to solve the problem. So they went back to the drawing board and came up with a very innovative solution.

One teacher commented, "Our principal has unleashed us and now we find that we have power. You just kind of stay down where you're supposed to be until someone says, 'Here, you can do this!' And once we started making decisions, everyone at the school has taken it and run with it."

When asked how the principal "unleashed" teachers, the answer from the teachers was that she began by getting them to share ideas. One teacher stated that this definitely was the breakthrough that got the process up and running. "She had us come to faculty meetings and write ideas down on index cards and then share them. She would always be running off articles and ideas for us and now we were beginning to do this for each other." These activities started breaking down the walls of mistrust and opened up the lines of communication. This was the beginning of all the excitement and change.

The process has also dramatically changed the role of the principal from that of benevolent dictator to facilitator. It required the learning of some new behaviors on the part of the principal.

> It was really difficult at first to let teachers make mistakes. I really had to fight the urge to tell them, "that's not the best way to do that." I had to let them analyze their own problems, come up with their own solutions, and then try them out and see if they worked. When they didn't work, I had to resist the urge to jump in and fix it. But the benefits of this have really been overwhelming. These teachers are now running the school. They are self-confident, assertive, and innovative risk-takers.

Changes in Curriculum and Instruction

The Accelerated Schools Process has empowered the school community to make some dramatic changes in the way curriculum and instruction are implemented in the school. Some of these changes have come about as formal results of the Curriculum and Staff Development Task Force using the inquiry process to bring about carefully planned change. Others have come about as empowered teachers analyze their own classroom situations and make decisions based on their own needs. For example, a group of teachers decided to move with their students through the grade levels. This teacher-initiated flexible scheduling and grouping was a radical departure from the way things had traditionally been done in the school.

A product of the Curriculum Task Force was the instructional and curricular innovation the school calls "Fabulous Fridays." The task force focused on the fact that many of their students were not familiar with many of the experiences, ideas, and materials to which middle-class kids had access. So, under the theme of "building bridges to the middle class," the team decided to provide many of these experiences and situations for their students by means of 4-week minicourses that would take place every Friday afternoon. This program is designed to enrich the academic skills of students through exciting course offerings. Fabulous Friday is run like a miniuniversity. Students register for courses and list first and second choices. Students from all grade levels are integrated into these classes. The older students go to the kindergarten and first grades to pick up their "little buddies" and escort them to their classroom for Fabulous Friday. The course offerings are extensive. The "Friday Faculty" includes almost every adult in the building as well as "guest teachers" such as retired teachers, central office staff, and community volunteers. Some of the classes include beginning swimming, bowling, scuba diving, the history of rug making, camping, baby-sitting, violin, gymnastics, ballet, the Last Days of Pompeii, eating around the world, and wood shop. All courses have an academic focus as well as an activity base. The Marketing Task Force helped to find the resources for the program.

Curriculum and instruction in Hollibrook have changed dramatically. Teachers now determine the ways that children learn best and design programs to meet those needs. As one teacher stated, "Before the Accelerated Schools Process, we had been following a district curriculum that was not made for these children. And we were just beating them down by expecting them to do it that particular way." Another teacher stated, "We are no longer remediating, we are accelerating, giving them all the opportunities that other children are getting." Curriculum and instruction are now enriched, challenging, exciting, and innovative. Active learning, flexible grouping and scheduling, integrated, thematic learning, and unique approaches to bilingual education are the norm rather than the exception. Staff development is continuous and ongoing as staff members constantly strive to learn and share new approaches and techniques. Accelerated Schools did not provide a package but a process for developing appropriate methods for this particular student population.

Reactions Within the School District

Word of Hollibrook's new activities soon began to filter out into the school district. The school had a staunch ally within the district's administration, who protected them from interference and allowed them to bend the rules where they needed to be bent. Given the restrictive activities going on at the state level with regard to education at the time, this ally was crucial in enabling the accelerated process to occur. The principal also protected teachers from restrictions by being quiet about many of the changes at the school.

The first year the school was involved in the project, there was not much reaction from the district because few people were aware of what was happening. Soon, however, as word leaked out that something different was happening at Hollibrook, people began to get nervous. The reaction of other administrators and principals in the district was unexpected and demoralizing. When the principal attended meetings, she was met with subtle, exclusionary reactions. Eyes would be rolled, there were stiff collegial greetings, and others would become defensive about their own programs. This reaction made the principal doubt herself and her school at times, but the results that were occurring in the school convinced her that they were on the right track.

The first set of standardized achievement scores showed remarkable gains for the students at Hollibrook and people began reacting more positively toward the program. People who had been secret supporters at the administration building now felt empowered to speak out openly. The school board voiced its support as did the superintendent and local politicians and community leaders. As student achievement continued to climb, support for Hollibrook soared. Other schools in the district requested Accelerated Schools training.

A Day in the Life of Hollibrook

Let's take a look at the "new" Hollibrook and see what kind of an environment the school community has created that is making school a better place for children, teachers, staff, and families. Entering the doors of Hollibrook provides visitors with an overwhelming sensation of color, warmth, and structured busyness. The front vestibule is full of student projects. This week, the exhibits are of the continents of the world. Each class has designed a display representing the salient characteristics of the continent their grade level is studying. There are simulated lakes, rivers, paper animals, clothing, artifacts, maps, and landscapes. Exhibits are interactive and invite visitors to touch, listen, or participate.

As we continue down the hallway, we find exhibits from different countries. We encounter children with passports who are simulating visits to foreign lands where they sample food, music, listen to stories, or talk with people from those countries. At each country they visit, their passports are stamped with a visa stamp. They then return to their own classrooms and share their experiences in writing, art, and discussion.

The front vestibule is also full of plants, comfortable chairs, and sofas. Parents and children sit there as they wait for appointments with teachers, counselors, or social workers. There are books and magazines in abundance, including one bin labeled, "Free. Help yourself." The walls throughout the school are covered with banners that have slogans in both English and Spanish.

Accelerated Schools consider the active involvement of parents in the education of their children to be a crucial variable. At Hollibrook, parents are in evidence throughout the school. Some go directly to the Parent Center, which is a room equipped with comfortable tables, chairs, and sofas. A coffeepot is set up and there are playpens for toddlers, children's toys and books, and a wide array of equipment and materials including typewriters, sewing machines, and a computer. The school social workers' desks are here and there are notices regarding parenting classes and workshops displayed on the bulletin boards. Some parents are here just to visit, others go on to the classrooms in which they are volunteering, and one mother stays behind to learn how to use the computer. She is printing out some banners she has designed and her excitement at her accomplishment is evident. The Parent Involvement Task Force is still actively seeking new ways to meaningfully involve families in the very fabric of the school. The fact that 98% of the parents now attend fall conferences is evidence that the strategies are working, but the teachers are not content yet. The teachers at this school want to know where the other 2% are, and they are seeking ways to reach them.

Some of the most interesting signs to be found throughout the school are the ones that simply say, "SWEAT!" The principal tells us that this quote was inspired by Thomas Edison, who stated that creativity is 1% inspiration and 99% perspiration. High expectations are the norm here at Hollibrook. As the principal passes by, students call out to her, "We're sweating today, Ms. Still!"

As we walk down the hallway, we see one room that has used the theme of Camelot this year. Everything they have been studying is based on the Middle Ages.

As we go outside, the PE teachers explain how they work together with the classroom teachers to integrate learning. If a class is studying Texas history, for example, the students might be having a relay based on what they wrote about the Pony Express, and they do a lot of work with directionality and vocabulary building.

An essential feature of an Accelerated School is its emphasis on the development of language. Hollibrook is language centered. One room, for example, is the Newcomers' Center. This is where newly arrived immigrant children learn English in a setting that also allows them to learn about the customs and culture of their new country. The room looks like a miniature American home. There is a living room, dining room, and kitchen, completely furnished. The older bilingual children spend time in the room serving as peer tutors for the new children and help them adjust to their new country and school. It doesn't take long, the teacher tells us, for the new children to feel comfortable enough to be placed in regular classrooms.

Further down the hall is a stage that has been converted into a miniature grocery store. There are freezer bins, shelves stocked with groceries, a checkout counter complete with cash register, fruits and vegetables with scales, and even a flower cart. The principal tells us that all of these items were donated by local grocery stores and that students use this room for math classes. Students learn English as well as math as they run the store. "At this school, we fill the students up with language," we are told. Students in the grocery store are busy playing many roles—shopper, checker, weigher. All are on task and involved as the fifth graders are doing inventory and the third graders are making comparative graphs of the sugar content in various cereals and are determining which would be the most nutritious.

A second-grade room down the hall is a ship. Students and visitors must cross a gangplank to enter. This week, the students have sailed to Antarctica. There is a large simulated continent on the floor complete with icebergs, penguins, and seals. All subjects have been taught with an emphasis on the continent and its characteristics. Student math problems have focused on temperatures of air and water, distances from place to place on the continent, and the sizes and weights of animals found there. Student writing has taken the form of letters from Antarctica to people back home. Some students are writing about what life on the continent must be like for explorers based on the artifacts and clothing they have found in a large trunk in the room. Every child in the room is on task and involved in meaningful learning activities.

One thing that stands out is the body language of the teachers and students in the school. They are actively involved in learning, they exhibit enthusiasm for learning, and they show respect for themselves and each other. Teachers obviously care about these students—there are lots of smiles and hugs in evidence. In fact, the principal informs us that the students have renamed the school "Huggibrook."

Assessing the Process

A key feature of the Accelerated Schools Process is that of ongoing monitoring of progress. The Accelerated Schools Process consists of three stages, and each necessitates its own unique assessment. The three stages are (a) decision processes, (b) the implementation process, and (c) student outcomes. The assessment of an Accelerated School must involve the players themselves. The school community documents the process of buy-in and capacity building. The processes of taking stock, building the vision, prioritizing challenge areas, and creating governance structures are documented. The manner in which the school goes through these processes is compared with the process as it is set out in the Accelerated Schools literature before any intervention strategies are attempted. The initial stages of the inquiry process are also included in this stage as task forces analyze problems and develop potential solutions. (For a more complete description of the evaluation process, see Levin, 1988c; McCarthy et al., 1991.)

Hollibrook school community members took copious notes and documented every phase of the process. Through this endeavor, the teachers learned to ask reflective questions about what was happening in their classrooms and in the school community as a whole. The Hollibrook community learned how to do research. Now teachers do not just look at grade-level test scores, for example, they disaggregate them to find out how specific categories of students are doing. Teachers with specific interests look at different pieces of data and analyze them themselves. They no longer wait for someone to give them a printout from the central office.

In the implementation phase, pilot testing and evaluation take place and changes are made in programs or procedures. The Campus Improvement Task Force keeps track of how the process itself is being implemented. They monitor the activities of the other task forces. They collect data. Every 6 weeks, this committee conducts a school-as-a-whole meeting in which they help the community review the progress that has been made and any areas where the plans for action are not being carried out as effectively as they might be. The individual task forces themselves also carry out assessment activities, as does the Steering Committee.

Causality in educational research is difficult to establish, but the data collected at Hollibrook, both quantitative and qualitative, would seem to indicate that the Accelerated Schools Project has facilitated myriad changes in the Hollibrook school community, especially in the area of student outcomes. The comparison of the changes experienced at Hollibrook with those reported from a carefully selected control school lends strong support for this conclusion. As can be seen by Table 3.1, the control school's test scores actually declined over a 3-year period while those at Hollibrook were

TABLE 3.1 A Comparison of Fifth-Grade SRA Scores (in national percentiles)

Subject	*Control School*			*Hollibrook*		
	1989	*1990*	*1991*	*1989*	*1990*	*1991*
Composite	41	36	29	39	42	51
Reading	33	29	25	28	31	38
Language arts	39	35	26	33	37	46
Math	48	45	38	56	57	66
Reference materials	NA	NA	NA	25	45	48
EAS	41	25	23	32	37	40

consistently rising. In fact, test scores for the district as a whole were generally declining while Hollibrook's were rising strongly and consistently. Hollibrook's disaggregated test scores also reveal exceptionally high gains by low SES and LEP students.

While the minority population at Hollibrook shifted from 67% in 1988 to 91% in 1991, and the population changed from 64% low SES to more than 92% low SES in 1991, test scores increased dramatically (see Table 3.2). In 1988, the fifth graders at Hollibrook were scoring at the 4.3 grade level on composite scores on the SRA standardized tests. They were scoring at the 3.7 level in reading and language arts. In early spring 1991, fifth graders scored at the 5.8 grade level for a composite score and reading and language arts scores have risen to 5.2 and 5.6, respectively, a gain of almost two grade levels in just 2½ years. Even more remarkable is the fact that students are scoring at about grade level in all subjects and 1 year above grade level in mathematics (6.6).

Other measures have showed strong improvement as well. Incidents of vandalism were down by 78%. Student mobility rates decreased from 104% in 1987 to 47% in 1990. (They have since risen to 63% with the closing of several large apartment complexes.) At the beginning of the program, parental involvement was virtually nonexistent. PTA attendance in 1991 ranged from 450 to 1,000 parents per meeting. Parent volunteers went from 0 to 250 with most in the building on a regular basis. In addition, community volunteers went

TABLE 3.2 Hollibrook Accelerated Elementary School Fifth-Grade SRA Scores[a]

Subject	*1988*	*1989*	*1990*	*1991*
Composite	4.3	4.4	5.4	5.8
Reading	3.7	4.4	4.6	5.2
Language arts	3.7	4.7	5.2	5.6
Math	5.3	6.2	6.3	6.6
Reference materials	3.9	4.6	5.2	5.6

a. Scores are reported in grade-level equivalents.

from 0 to 60, with volunteers from local corporations in the school weekly. These changes took place after the implementation of carefully planned intervention strategies developed by the members of the Hollibrook community working through the inquiry process.

Conclusion

These results were accomplished with little extra funding other than a grant received from Chevron in 1990 for instructional equipment and supplies and some assistance from the Satellite Center Project at Stanford, a total of less than $10,000 over a 3-year period. Hollibrook faculty, staff, and families, using the Accelerated Schools Process as a vehicle, determined their own vision and facilitated their own successful solutions to challenges. An integral part of this endeavor was the collection and analysis of formative and summative data. The Hollibrook community learned how to be researchers who use data to make intelligent decisions. They have learned how to ask the right questions. We see similar phenomena occurring in other Accelerated Schools across the nation. Rather than relying on others to gather information and analyze it for them, the teachers, staff, and community at Hollibrook have learned how to do it themselves and, in the process, have become empowered.

The Hollibrook community does not take the transformation of the school for granted. There are constant activities to facilitate team building and renewal. Social activities are planned to keep the community bonds strong. Carefully planned events give the local community an opportunity to participate in the life of the school, and the Marketing Team continues to publicize the school and its successes and needs.

Hollibrook Accelerated Elementary School is now nearing the completion of its fourth year in the project. Life in the school has changed drastically for all members of the school community. School has become a better place for all who attend. As one of the students stated eloquently in his fifth-grade memory book, "Hollibrook accepted me even when I couldn't speak any English. Now I know that I can be anything I want to be, like a doctor or a lawyer." One parent stated, "You teachers at Hollibrook are teaching my children things I wish I could teach them, but don't know how." And, as one of the teachers stated in a presentation to a potential Accelerated School, "The only question you should be asking yourselves is, 'Why on earth *wouldn't* we want to be an Accelerated School?' "

References

Clift, R. T., Johnson, M., & Holland, P. (1990, April). *Nested worlds: School leadership and the ability to begin and sustain continued professional learning.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston.

Hopfenberg, W., Levin, H. M., Meister, G., & Rogers, J. (1990, April). *Toward Accelerated Middle Schools.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston.

Levin, H. M. (1986). *Educational reform for disadvantaged students: An emerging crisis.* West Haven, CT: NEA Professional Library.

Levin, H. M. (1987). New schools for the disadvantaged. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 14*(4), 60-83.

Levin, H. M. (1988a). Accelerating elementary education for disadvantaged students. In Chief State School Officers (Ed.), *School success for students at risk* (pp. 209-225). Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Levin, H. M. (1988b, December). *An accountability model for the Accelerated School.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University, School of Education, Accelerated Schools Project.

Levin, H. M. (1988c, May). *Toward an evaluation model for Accelerated Schools* (memo). Stanford, CA: Stanford University, School of Education, Accelerated Schools Project.

McCarthy, J., Hopfenberg, W. S., & Levin, H. M. (1991, April 3). *Accelerated Schools: Evolving thoughts on the evaluation of an innovative model.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

Pallas, A., Natriello, G., & McDill, E. L. (1989, June-July). The changing nature of the disadvantaged population: Current dimensions and future trends. *Educational Researcher, 18*(5), 16-22.

Polkinghorn, R., Bartels, D., & Levin, H. M. (1990, April). *Accelerated Schools: The inquiry process and the prospects for school change.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston.

4

Success for All

Three Case Studies of Comprehensive Restructuring of Urban Elementary Schools

ROBERT E. SLAVIN
NANCY A. MADDEN
ALTA H. SHAW
K. LYNNE MAINZER
MARY C. DONNELLY

On a lovely September day in 1986, we had an unusual visitor at our research center at Johns Hopkins University. Kalman (Buzzy) Hettleman had been the Maryland Secretary of Human Resources but was then working under a small Ford Foundation grant to help Baltimore's superintendent, Alice Pinderhughes, and school board president, Robert Embry, explore means of improving the Baltimore City Public Schools. Hettleman posed an interesting question to us. "What would happen," he asked, "if you could

---

AUTHORS' NOTE: Preparation of this chapter was supported by grants from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education (No. OPERI-R-117-R-90002), and the Abell Foundation. Any opinions expressed, however, are those of the authors and do not represent OERI or Abell Foundation policies.

design an inner-city elementary school in which *every* child would succeed. Not simply raise average achievement, but ensure that no child would fall behind in the early grades." Baltimore suffered from all the ills typical of inner-city school systems: high poverty, low achievement, high special education rates, first-grade retention rates in excess of 20%, the lowest per pupil instructional expenditure in the state, and so on. But what if we could forget about the way things had been done in the past, could get waivers on certain policies and requirements, and could spend the per pupil costs typical of the rest of Maryland (about $900 more than the Baltimore level).

Our group was at an ideal point for this discussion. We were working on a book, *Effective Programs for Students at Risk* (Slavin, Karweit, & Madden, 1989), and were just at that moment trying to review every study ever done to attempt to improve achievement in elementary schools serving disadvantaged students. So we were delighted to engage in what we thought at the time was a purely hypothetical discussion of a topic of great interest to us. About once a month, Buzzy Hettleman would show up for another installment of the discussion.

One day, Buzzy came with a surprise. He had received approval, he said, to work with us to plan a pilot of the program we had been discussing! We had few expectations that the discussions we had been having were anything more than a thought experiment; yet we were soon working with a large group of educators in Baltimore's Elementary Division to plan actual implementation of a program designed to ensure the success of every child, no matter what.

We worked for months and ultimately came up with a plan. We also selected a school, Abbottston Elementary, and began to work with Abbottston's staff to refine our plan. In September 1987, the first Success for All program began at Abbottston.

At this writing, Abbottston Elementary is beginning its sixth year of implementation, and Success for All exists in 50 schools in 15 states. After describing the elements of Success for All, this chapter tells the stories of three of the Baltimore schools that have implemented Success for All for the longest period of time.

Success for All: Program Elements

Our basic approach to designing a program to ensure success for all children begins with two essential principles: *prevention* and *immediate, intensive intervention.* That is, learning problems must first be prevented by providing children with the best available classroom programs and by engaging their parents in support of their school success. When learning problems do appear, corrective interventions must be immediate, intensive, and minimally disruptive to students' progress in the regular program. That is, students receive help early on, when their problems are small. This help is intensive and effective enough to catch students up with their classmates so that they can profit from their regular classroom instruction. Instead of letting students fall further and further behind until they need special or remedial education or are retained in grade, students in Success for All are given whatever help they need to keep up in the basic skills (see Slavin, Madden, Karweit, Dolan, & Wasik, 1992).

Reading Tutors

One of the most important elements of the Success for All model is the use of tutors to support students' success in reading. One-to-one tutoring is the most effective form of instruction known (see Slavin et al., 1989; Wasik & Slavin, 1990). The tutors are certified teachers with experience teaching Chapter 1, special education, and/or primary reading. Tutors work one to one with students who are having difficulties keeping up with their reading groups. Students are taken from their homeroom classes by the tutors for 20-minute sessions during times other than reading or math periods. Tutors support students' success in the regular classroom. In general, if the regular reading teacher is working on long vowels, so is the tutor. Tutors, however, also seek to identify learning deficits and use different strategies to teach the same skills.

During daily 90-minute reading periods, tutors serve as additional reading teachers to reduce class size for reading to about 15 (see below). Information on students' specific deficits and needs passes between reading teachers and tutors on brief forms, and reading teachers and tutors are given regular times to meet for purposes of coordinating their approaches with individual children.

Initial decisions about reading group placement and need for tutoring are made based on informal reading inventories given to each child by the tutors. After this, reading group placements and tutoring assignments are made based on 8-week assessments, which include teacher judgments as well as more formal assessments. First graders receive first priority for tutoring, on the assumption that the primary function of the tutors is to help all students be successful in reading the first time, before they become remedial readers.

Reading Program

Students in Grades 1-3 are regrouped for reading. That is, students are assigned to heterogeneous, age-grouped classes with class sizes of about 25 most of the day, but during a regular 90-minute reading period they are regrouped according to reading performance levels into reading classes of 15 students all at the same level. For example, a 2-1 reading class might contain first-, second-, and third-grade students all reading at the same level.

The idea behind regrouping is to allow teachers to teach the whole reading class without having to break the class into reading groups. This greatly reduces the time needed for seat work and increases direct instruction time. We do not expect reduction in class size to increase reading achievement by itself (see Slavin, in press), but it does ensure that every reading class will be at only one reading level, eliminating workbooks, dittos, or other follow-up activities that are needed in classes with multiple reading groups. The regrouping is a form of the Joplin Plan, which has been found to increase reading achievement in the elementary grades (Slavin, 1987).

The reading program itself has been designed to take full advantage of having 90 minutes of direct instruction. The reading program emphasizes development of listening comprehension, basic language skills, and sound and letter recognition skills in kindergarten and uses an approach based on phonetically regular minibooks starting in first grade (although kindergarten students who show readiness are accelerated into the first-grade program). Students in prekindergarten, kindergarten, and first grade experience the Peabody Language Development kits to help them build language concepts essential to later reading success. The K-1 reading program emphasizes oral reading of children's literature by the teacher, oral reading of minibooks to student partners as well as to the teacher, instruction in story structure and specific comprehension skills, and integration of reading and writing. When they reach the first reader reading level, students use a form of Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC) with the district's basal series or with trade books. CIRC uses cooperative learning activities built around story structure, prediction, summarization, vocabulary building, decoding practice, writing, and direct instruction in reading comprehension skills. Oral reading by the teacher continues. Research on CIRC has found it to significantly increase students' reading comprehension and language skills (Stevens, Madden, Slavin, & Farnish, 1987).

Eight-Week Reading Assessments

Every 8 weeks, reading teachers assess students' progress through the reading program. The results of the assessments are used to determine who is to receive tutoring, to suggest other adaptations in students' programs, and to identify students who need other types of assistance, such as family interventions or vision/hearing screening.

Preschool and Kindergarten

Most Success for All schools provide a half-day preschool and/or a full-day kindergarten for all eligible students. The focus of the preschool and kindergarten is on providing a balanced and developmentally appropriate learning experience for young children. The curriculum places a heavy emphasis on the development and use of language and the development of concepts about print. It provides a balance of academic readiness and nonacademic music, art, and movement activities. Readiness activities include use of a program called Story Telling and Retelling (STaR) in which students discuss and retell stories read by the teachers. Prereading activities typically begin the second semester of kindergarten.

Family Support Team

A Family Support Team consisting of any social workers, parent liaisons, counselors, and others who work in the school provides parenting education and works to involve parents in support of their children's success in school. Also, family support staff are called on to provide assistance when there are indications that students are not working up to their full potential because of problems at home; for example, families of students who are not receiving adequate sleep or nutrition, need glasses, are not attending school regularly, or are exhibiting serious behavior problems receive family support assistance.

Program Facilitator

A program facilitator works at each school to oversee (with the principal) the operation of the Success for All model. The facilitator helps plan the Success for All program, assists the principal with scheduling, and visits classes and tutoring sessions frequently to help teachers and tutors with individual problems. He or she helps teachers and tutors deal with any behavior problems or other special problems and coordinates the activities of the Family Support Team with those of the instructional staff.

Teachers and Teacher Training

The teachers and tutors are regular classroom teachers. They receive detailed teacher's manuals supplemented by 3 days of inservice at the beginning of each school year, frequent consultation and coaching by the facilitator and fellow teachers, and inservice sessions throughout the year on such topics as classroom management, instructional pace, and implementation of the curriculum.

Special Education

Every effort is made to deal with student's learning problems within the context of the regular classroom, as supplemented by tutors. Special education resource services are still provided for students assigned to special education in previous years, but no new assignments to resource services are made for most reading problems, on the assumption that tutoring services available to all students will be more appropriate. Self-contained services for seriously handicapped students are maintained for students whose needs cannot be met in the regular class.

Advisory Committee

An Advisory Committee composed of the building principal, program facilitator, teacher representatives, and Johns Hopkins staff meets regularly to review the progress of the program and to identify and solve any problems that arise.

Outcomes of Success for All

The effects of Success for All on students who begin the program in preschool, kindergarten, or first grade are extremely positive on individually administered tests of reading. Figure 4.1 shows the results (in average grade equivalents) after 4 years of Success for All in Baltimore's Abbottston Elementary School and 3 years in four other Baltimore schools. Nearly all students in these schools are African American and approximately 90% qualify for free lunches. Effect sizes (the proportion of a standard deviation separating experimental and control groups) are also presented. Note that, while Success for All students in general are far outperforming their counterparts in the control group, the effects are particularly dramatic for the students who started out in the lowest quarter of the sample in pretest scores. Significantly, only 3.9% of Success for All third graders who were in the program since first grade are currently performing 2 years below grade level, one traditional indication of learning disabilities in reading.

In contrast, 11.7% of matched control students were 2 years or more below grade level (see Slavin et al., 1992, for more on the research design and findings).

Similar findings have been obtained for schools in Philadelphia, Memphis, and rural Maryland (Slavin et al., 1992). Special education referrals and assignments for learning disabilities have been reduced by about half in the five Baltimore schools. At a rural Maryland school where the main focus on the program is on providing alternatives to special education, referrals to special education have fallen from 22 to 6, and assignments have fallen from 12 to 3 in the first 2 years of Success for All (see Slavin & Madden, 1991).

In addition to increasing achievement and decreasing special education assignments, retentions in grade were reduced to near zero in all schools. In the Baltimore city schools, this reduction was from a preprogram mean of about 11% per year in kindergarten though Grade 3.

The findings to date from the Success for All evaluations illustrate the potential of prevention and early intervention to keep students from falling far behind their age-mates, to prevent them from failing, and to keep them from being assigned to special education for learning disabilities. All of the Success for All schools serve very disadvantaged student populations; in particular, the Baltimore city schools experience problems with truancy, inadequate health care, parental poverty, drug involvement, and other problems at a level that is unusual even among urban schools. Yet, in these schools, students are performing at or near national norms, and even the lowest achievers are well on their way to reading, are being promoted, and are staying out of special education.

Success for All in Baltimore

As noted earlier, Success for All began in Baltimore at Abbottston Elementary School in 1987. Abbottston was selected as the pilot school from among a half-dozen schools that met our original criteria: high poverty level, a willing principal, willing staff (we require a vote by secret ballot with at least 80% in favor), and adequate space. Abbottston was selected because it had a

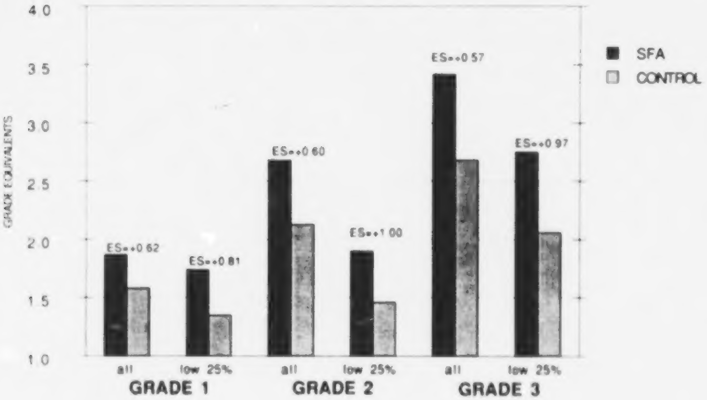

Figure 4.1. All Baltimore Success for All Schools: Average Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes (Year 4)

SOURCE: Adapted from Slavin, Madden, Karweit, Dolan, and Wasik (1992).

NOTE: Mean grade equivalents and effect sizes are from individually administered tests of reading.

particularly enthusiastic staff and adequate space (for tutoring). The school serves a student body that is nearly all black, in which 70%-80% of students have qualified for free lunch. In its first year, the additional costs needed to implement the program, approximately $400,000, were provided by federal Chapter 2 funds.

In 1988-1989, five additional schools joined the program. One, City Springs, also received additional funds, in this case from a local foundation. The other four implemented a much less expensive form of the program, using existing Chapter 1 funds plus about $50,000 per year from a federal dropout prevention program. Among ourselves, we began calling the fully funded and dropout prevention schools "Cadillac" and "Chevrolet" versions of Success for All. The Cadillac schools had six or more tutors and two additional staff members for family support; Chevy schools typically had two or three tutors and no additional family support staff. Also, Cadillac schools had full-time facilitators who were school district employees, while Chevy schools had half-time facilitators who were provided under contract by Johns Hopkins.

In addition to Cadillac and Chevy schools, we conducted a study in 1988-1989 to evaluate the reading program in kindergarten and first grade. The three schools involved had no tutors, no family support, and no facilitators. We called them "curriculum-only" schools, but the schools called themselves "go-cart" schools.

The following sections describe the implementation of Success for All at three Baltimore schools: Abbottston, the original Cadillac school; Dallas Nicholas, which began as a "go-cart" school and became a Chevy; and Dr. Bernard Harris, one of the original Chevy schools.

Abbottston Elementary School

The story of Abbottston Elementary School is told by Mary Donnelly. Ms. Donnelly had been a first-grade teacher at Abbottston for many years and, when Success for All came to the school, she became a tutor. After a year, the original facilitator, Deborah Wortham, was promoted to vice principal and Mary Donnelly became facilitator. She served in that role for 3 years and was then promoted to vice principal herself (at another school).

* * *

In the spring of 1987, an emergency staff meeting was called by our principal, Nicky Johnson, to discuss an exciting new program called Success for All (SFA). Mrs. Johnson had heard about the program at a principal's meeting and felt it was important enough to race back to school to tell us about it. She explained that it would involve smaller class sizes, six tutors, social workers, a program facilitator, and a curriculum designed to ensure that all children would be reading at grade level by the end of third grade. SFA would affect the children in prekindergarten to Grade 3. We also would be working closely with the researchers at Johns Hopkins University who developed the program. The only problem was that several schools were interested, but only one would be chosen. She went on to explain that the program would be funded by a special Chapter 2 grant. The entire faculty had to be interested in the program even to be considered. It's safe to say that we were all interested, even though we still had questions. We were concerned about the following issues:

- What kind of support would we receive?
- How would this curriculum correlate with our current curriculum?
- Would our grading system change?
- How long would the program stay in our school?

A few days later, following this meeting, Dr. Robert Slavin presented the program to the entire staff. He was able to answer some of our questions. We voted again and we were still unanimous in our enthusiasm for the program. It was still several weeks before we were selected to be the pilot school. Soon thereafter, I was appointed to be one of six tutors, and Deborah Wortham was named as facilitator.

In August, our entire staff met 3 days earlier than other Baltimore schools for training in SFA. We were particularly encouraged by the fact that our then superintendent, Alice Pinderhughes, was there on the first day. She assured us that SFA had her support and that it was a 5-year project. Her presence and encouragement were important to the success of the project. We entered the training feeling confident that this was a project that would last.

We quickly discovered that SFA wasn't "just" a reading program that we would do for 90 minutes a day. SFA was a holistic approach to teaching children. We examined the way we managed our classrooms and disciplined our students and, more important, the way we encouraged our students. We began to realize that as a staff we would have to work on schoolwide standards. For 3 exhausting days, we learned about Beginning Reading, Beyond the Basics, and Family Support. We didn't realize at the time how important the Family Support Team would be to the program. We were overwhelmed and excited but positive that we weren't ready to begin teaching this new program.

There were still some concerns that we had to address. We were worried about using a traditional grading system if we were supposed to be celebrating a child's personal success. On the other hand, the thought of not retaining students, a key program policy, was difficult for some of us to accept because none of us felt we retained children unnecessarily. These were concerns that we had to work out as we went along and became more familiar with the benefits of the program.

When school opened in September, we were sure that we needed more training but our principal and facilitator wisely kept to the scheduled start-up date. The tutors spent the first 2 weeks of school testing every child in Grades 1-3. The teachers, in the meantime, prepared the children for the changes that were about to happen. They talked to them about the idea of going to another teacher for reading. They stressed the idea that all the teachers and tutors would be reading teachers during that time and that it didn't matter what grade their reading teacher usually taught, because students from different grade levels would be in their class. Once the tutors completed testing and the facilitator, with the help of Hopkins staff, had grouped the children and assigned them to a teacher, the teachers walked them through going to class.

While the teachers prepared the students, the tutors worked on getting their teaching areas ready. Over the summer, Mrs. Johnson had been creative in assigning temporary teaching areas. Two tutors shared the only unused classroom available while two other tutors shared the library. The fifth tutor used the library reference room, and the sixth tutor (me) used an old storage area with windows, which had been converted to an office area for the part-time speech pathologist and hearing teachers.

Thinking back, it's amazing how many details had to be taken care of before the teachers even came in for training. In addition to the teaching areas, the principal had to redo our schedule and find a working area for the Family Support Team (FST). The FST spent the summer becoming acquainted with the families in the area by visiting the homes of every family in the school. The facilitator had to become acquainted with the program and to work on strategies to make the program run smoothly. One technique she developed, which seemed minor at the time, made our transition to reading class relatively stress free. She decided on moving to music, which would guarantee that everyone would start and end on time. It also gave the children plenty of time to move to class.

A few days after the school year began, the tutors were given their caseloads. We tutored 11 children one on one for 20-minute periods every day. The children selected were mostly the lowest performing first graders. Where there were available slots, students from other grade levels were tutored. Whenever possible, tutors tutored students from their own reading class if they needed it. Having the lowest group of first graders, I tutored many of my own students and it gave me a chance to really get to know their needs. For the students who came from other reading classes, a Teacher/Tutor Communication Form was developed. This way the teacher could identify the needs of each student. It allowed the tutors to support what was being done in the classroom and to follow the progress of the students. Tutoring was one of the most important aspects of the program. The one-on-one interaction gave us a chance to identify problems early. The students really trusted their tutors. Many of the children who didn't need tutoring after the first 8 weeks didn't want to leave tutoring. We had to devise ways to make them feel good about leaving tutoring and still let them know that they could come to us if they needed help again.

During the first 8 weeks of the program, I saw tremendous growth in my reading group. One particular student I had was a little girl with a speech problem who did not want to be in school. She cried every day. In the Beginning Reading program, we used puppets during Peabody Language and during the Beginning Reading lessons themselves. This student started to respond to the puppets. She came in looking for her "friends" Peabella and Alphie. During tutoring sessions, she always had the puppets give her the answers until she built enough confidence in herself not to need them. She started to apply what she was learning to help her with her speech problem. It was little successes like this one that helped the teachers to feel more confident about the program.

After 8 weeks, we assessed the progress of the students. The majority of the students showed growth, some more than others. This necessitated accelerating some of the children into higher groups. This was one of the most difficult things we had to do. We all had become attached to our students and didn't want to lose any of them. This is where the facilitator had to step in and be the objective party. The decisions she made were sound ones. It became easier every 8 weeks to make the changes. We didn't ever lose our entire group. The 8-week assessments made me wonder how often I kept students at a level longer then was necessary in the past. The assessments also revealed problems we were having with the program. I discovered that I hadn't been giving my students enough practice sounding out words.

Another part of the 8-week assessment process was a questionnaire each teacher completed concerning his or her class. It asked us to identify any attendance, behavior, academic, or possible health problems that concerned us. The Family Support Team followed up on these concerns. We were fortunate to have a nurse as part of our FST and she, along with the social workers, was able to help our students with health concerns. One of our social workers was on loan to us from the Department of Social Services and she worked on our attendance problems, among other things. The questionnaire picked up any attendance problems she may have missed. We weren't used to having this kind of support with our students and it took some of us a while to use the FST to help us. The first 8-week assessment was the first time many of us really realized how useful FST members were. A Family Support Team gives teachers a chance to find the reasons behind a child's lack of achievement. This closer look enabled us to dramatically reduce the number of special education referrals.

Parent involvement was another important aspect of the program. The FST held a series of workshops that addressed parents' concerns. They invited them in and, with the help of the facilitator, trained them to work in the classrooms. One member of the FST, the parent liaison worker, had been in our school for a number of years and was able to help the parents feel comfortable with the other FST members. Our parent participation increased tremendously. The parents started to work as a team and were able to help make improvements in the school.

The end of our first 8 weeks coincided with our first reporting period. A compromise had been reached concerning how to grade the children. We used the traditional grading system and attached an addendum that told the parents how successful the children were in their reading class. We also required the parents to pick up the first report card. We wanted to make sure that all of the parents understood the program and how well their children were doing. Most of the parents did come to the school for the report cards and, consequently, got a better understanding of how the program worked.

November brought the first wave of visitors. Although we had been told to be prepared for visitors from other school systems, nothing prepared us for the amount of attention we received. The children enjoyed the visits and after a while didn't pay attention to the visitors. While we were proud of the success we were having, and enjoyed sharing it with others, there were times when the staff became a little overwhelmed by all the visitors. Luckily, the visits didn't start until after the tutors had been moved into permanent teaching areas.

We became comfortable with the program quickly that year. One thing that helped this process was that our principal arranged for us to meet weekly at our grade levels. We also had ongoing training throughout the year. All of this gave us the opportunity to address problems as they arose. SFA wasn't without problems that first year. It was a work in progress. Other Beyond the Basics teachers had a difficult time at first because their part of the curriculum used a lot more cooperative learning then we had experienced before. The training the following year included more strategies to help them. We asked that some changes be made in Beginning Reading. Revisions made over the summer allowed us to present the first vowel sound earlier so that the children could begin reading sooner. Hopkins staff also developed additional phonetic stories that gave the children more opportunities to read. We were asked to critique the program at the end of the year and many of our suggestions were implemented the following year.

In addition to our 8-week assessments, the students were assessed individually at the end of the year by evaluators trained at Hopkins. These evaluations served to verify what we already knew: SFA worked.

Not all of our successes that first year were measured by tests. Our students were actually reading books. Every night, our students, even our Beginning Reading children, were asked to read to someone at home. They had their listener sign their reading form. One teacher reported that one of her Beginning Reading students came in with a paw print on her form. The student said that everyone had been busy at home so she read to her dog. Our school librarian, who had worked at Abbottston off and on for 20 years, was thrilled with the changes she saw. The Listening Comprehension and STaR portions of the curriculum helped the children develop a real interest in literature. The first time the kindergarten visited the library that year was several months after the program started. When they saw all of the books, they became very excited and couldn't wait to "read" a book. Whenever the librarian tried to read a story, the children told her that they had heard the story before and then proceeded to retell it in their own words. The older students didn't have to be encouraged to select a book any more; they were eager to do so. The public librarian reported an increase in the use of the library by our students. Any problems and concerns we had were worth it when we saw our students eager to learn.

Dallas Nicholas Elementary

Dallas Nicholas Elementary School serves one of Baltimore's poorest neighborhoods. All of its students are African American, and nearly all qualify for free lunch. The school was originally selected to participate in the curriculum-only study, and its kindergarten teachers began using the Beginning Reading materials in February 1988. In September, the Baltimore City Public Schools received a federal dropout prevention grant, which allowed us to start four "Chevy" schools. The principal of Dallas Nicholas, Ardena Dixon, demanded to be included. She is a dynamic leader, deeply committed to doing anything she can to help her children, and is not used to taking no as an answer. As a result, Dallas Nicholas left the curriculum-only study and became the first "Chevy" school.

Dallas Nicholas was assigned a half-time facilitator from Johns Hopkins in the fall of 1988. In 1989, this person took another job and Alta Shaw (from our staff) became the facilitator and has been the main link with Dallas Nicholas for 3 years. The section below was written by Ms. Shaw based on her own experience plus interviews with Ardena Dixon and with Wilma Gainey, the Chapter 1 master teacher in the school until 1991, when she became a vice principal elsewhere.

* * *

After hearing about Bob Slavin's work at Hopkins University and reading information about Success for All, Ardena Dixon was convinced that she needed to adopt this preventive philosophy for her school. As a "seasoned administrator," Mrs. Dixon was enthusiastic about the 90-minute homogeneous reading group, the tutoring, the family support component, and the opportunity to assess the students on a regular basis. Mrs. Dixon envisioned the program components up and running and immediately making a difference. This was an exciting time! At last, a program that touched not only reading classes but the entire school, including the students' parents, was just a few teacher votes away.

Prior to the actual voting, a focused program awareness session was presented by one of the Hopkins team. During this time, teachers were encouraged to query presenters and administrators about anything that concerned them. If Mrs. Dixon and the Johns Hopkins University (JHU) team experienced butterflies and nervous frustration, it was because of the sense of urgency that surrounded the process of "reading the faculty." Mrs. Dixon's style of leadership reflected sensitivity and regard for personal choices, so she consulted each teacher individually in search of opinions. For that reason, she was not surprised to see a majority vote in favor of SFA.

As Dallas Nicholas Elementary moved to the next steps toward implementation, it became apparent to Mrs. Dixon that the proposed funding level agreed upon by district and Hopkins parties was less than adequate. By Mrs. Dixon's standards, the "go-cart" model meant that she would be "half stepping" instead of leaping in with both feet—a leap that she believed was needed to nurture lifelong readers among poverty-stricken conditions. Dixon envisioned SFA as a vehicle that could drive her school to equal opportunities for learning by all students. This quest culminated with Dallas Nicholas's becoming a Chevy school in the fall of 1988, with a school-based facilitator, three teacher/tutors, a parent liaison, and the part-time assistance of a Hopkins instructional facilitator. Because Mrs. Gainey, the school-based program "care-giver," had to divide her time between SFA and Chapter 1 monitoring systems, the presence of a JHU facilitator not only validated the existence of the SFA support but enabled the school team to experience opportunities for group problem solving, shared task completion, and shared goal setting. Mrs. Dixon welcomed the support.

Once staffing patterns were established, Mrs. Dixon and her staff worked out such details as designating space for tutors, storing materials, locating the facilitator's work area, and other program prerequisites. Some days were spent shuffling teachers from one area to another, and many experienced anxiety about how this would eventually affect student achievement.

As school personnel prepared for SFA with a "full steam ahead" mentality, Hopkins staff designed workshop presentations for the training of all Baltimore SFA first-year sites. The pilot school, Abbottston Elementary, played a significant role in profiling and reflecting the school, classroom, teacher, parent, and, most important, child-centered dynamics that prevailed during these "novice years." Many pleasant, rewarding exchanges transpired. At the same time, many stressful moments resulted in temporary doubt as to whether Success for All would work. Nevertheless, a bond that all who participated shared continued to energize and sustain. Wilma Gainey and the JHU representative were the cheerleaders and advocates who sparked the flames whenever they appeared to die down. This support was evidenced by informally and formally communicating the school vision. Both administrators and teachers needed reinforcement regularly as they faced many new demands. For example, there were many discussions on problems ranging from difficulties around receiving and delivering materials to empowering and enabling classroom teachers to be supportive, encouraging mentors. There were many obstacles that could possibly result in failure and defeat. Consequently, much conversation was generated and heavily laden with "what ifs." In fact, while the initial training sessions comprised teachers who appeared somewhat comfortable, many were preoccupied with questions regarding the follow-up training, the presence of

Hopkins personnel in the classroom, report cards and grading, and so forth. Would the regular monthly faculty meeting devote time to SFA? What would happen when new students arrived? What about district curriculum demands and the "biggie"—what about the basic skills assessment? Even a stalwart like Mrs. Dixon experienced doubt from time to time, but only in the company of Mrs. Gainey and or the Hopkins staff. Teachers never knew!

Additionally, concerns focusing on student-home-school-parent connections were ever present. What about chronic absenteeism, tardiness, lack of parental involvement, and the need for social services integration into the school? Would the presence of a building facilitator inhibit classroom interactions among teachers and students? These and other concerns reflect the sentiments felt during this time of change. The job of the Hopkins representative was to provide the type of enthusiasm needed to foster risk taking, one in which conflict results in positive attitudes and an increased appreciation for diversity among students and faculty, including staff at the district level. Consequently, most JHU facilitators spent the morning and early afternoon hours in the "trenches." Many consultations with facilitators and administrators resulted in the actualization of volunteer projects as well as the generation of a feedback sheet to be shared with SFA developers and researchers. Changes were often made following frequent visits by the researchers.

Along with many realizations that "Oops, we hadn't considered that," came other very pleasant and rewarding surprises. Discipline referrals were dwindling, especially during the 90-minute reading segment, and classroom teachers created a forum for the most creative ways to make this model work for them. Newsletters and flyers were produced at the school to inform and validate teacher judgment. During all of this, the JHU team spent hours laboring over district mandates and system management. Task force groups discussed ways of removing barriers so that students could reap the SFA harvest. It was during this period that the word *relentless* became a part of the program creed. The SFA philosophy endorsed the affirmative, the positive, and the hope for better things to come. Tough-skinned facilitators and a risk-taking principal had to respond repeatedly to the cry of doubting teachers and district representatives who often were quick to criticize or despair upon experiencing the smallest mishap. Thus small group sessions (grade team meetings), facilitator-generated memos, and "pats on the back" were coupled with the battle cries: "Keep moving forward, you are supported and kids are beginning to read," and "just wait until the spring."

Before reading groups were formed and tutorial lists compiled, every first grader had to be tested for placement in Beginning Reading. This school-conducted and managed assessment was engineered by the facilitator, teachers, and tutors; initial testing required much forethought and a sense of organizational planning. First, no one was really sure about the length of time it would take to conduct this initial testing. Also, the time needed to form groups was underestimated because the process of collating and contrasting and comparing required patience, teacher input, and review of students' previous profiles. Much consideration was given to the physical movement of testers, students, and teachers. Logistics had to be mapped out so as not to impede the other school activities. Mrs. Dixon's style led her to become involved in assessing several students—and she recalls enjoying every minute of it: "This afforded me with a first-hand opportunity to jump right into the SFA program."

Following the serious business of forming groups, Mrs. Gainey and other SFA facilitators assigned teachers their respective reading classes. This was done very carefully, with much regard for the teacher's experience, level of competence in teaching reading, and even personality. Dixon and Gainey felt that the most challenging first-grade class needed a strong reading teacher who could keep an eye on pacing and on individual achievement. Novice teachers were partnered with veterans who could provide immediate support when Mrs. Gainey was busy with someone else.

Once Gainey and Dixon had successfully jumped the hurdle of program "start-up," they began to communicate daily regarding individual teachers and their manner of implementing the program. Coupled with the Hopkins facilitator, they learned, via trial and error, how to develop a management system. Mrs. Gainey realized that she must become actively involved in the classroom dynamics of each SFA instructor as well as interacting with emerging readers. How could she and the SFA facilitator be with approximately 22 teachers during the 90-minute period every day? In addition, how could facilitators keep up with the school-parent liaison?

First, Gainey and the Hopkins facilitator designed a classroom progress inventory that enabled them to record where teachers began and where they were on a weekly basis. Consequently, facilitators were compelled to be highly visible and within arm's reach during the 90-minute periods as often as possible. This systematic approach may have seemed busy and compulsive, but Dixon felt that it was necessary. Immediate, intensive intervention demanded this type of monitoring.

Regular weekly contact sessions were scheduled for tutors and facilitators. During these times, tutors were given the encouragement and respect that ultimately enabled them to feel powerful and significant. Mrs. Gainey knew that during the 8-week assessment periods she would need to have a "team approach" to expedite the operation. Also, tutors had significant information regarding the challenging first graders as well as some skillful ways of implementing the program. Because they were teaching a class and working with materials during tutoring, they became familiar with program "nuts and bolts" at a faster rate than the classroom teachers. Therefore Gainey fed information gleaned from the Hopkins liaison and staff to tutors, while they informed her about the achievement of their most challenging first graders.

As the first 8-week assessment approached, Mrs. Gainey started to collate materials, develop a strategic plan with tutors, and consult individual teachers. On different occasions, she could be found looking over the shoulders of partner reading pairs, sitting in with the "Rad Readers" (the four-member star group of the week), or testing a new student. Even though the operational aspects of preparing and conducting 8-week testing were extremely demanding, Mrs. Gainey realized that the careful approach to forming the initial groups had paid off. The first 8-week period saw quite a bit of movement, but the chips appeared to fall into place. Teachers, facilitators, and tutors felt comfortable when a consensus was reached regarding a particular student's progress. When a difference of opinion prevailed, Mrs. Gainey had to look into the situation via student testing and retesting as well as by seeking teacher and tutor feedback. Often, many hours were spent pondering a student's classroom participation and placement in tutoring.

An important lesson was learned during the 8-week period: A facilitator must not attempt to process the paperwork singlehandedly! Tutors, teachers, and facilitators had to devise a plan for expeditious, productive student "readings." Also, an effective, systematic approach to recording and organizing and class assignments had to come into play. Dixon and Gainey and the Hopkins facilitator learned this the hard way. As the subsequent 8-week sessions rolled around, Mrs. Gainey felt less stressed and even experienced a sense of joy because SFA was living up to its philosophy. As the year progressed, the staff at Dallas Nicholas became more and more committed to the SFA way of teaching. The energy seemed to pick up and those who had doubted earlier became believers and advocates. Dixon and Gainey were thrilled to see kindergarten students discussing story segments and they both readily listened to excited young readers. As Mrs. Dixon recalls, "The students were extremely involved in their learning during the SFA period and books were being checked out of the media center. I could see signs of happy, motivated, extremely proud readers and this was exciting to me."

Parental involvement, the need to recruit business partners, and means to increase attendance rates were the topics of many hours of conversation between the Hopkins facilitator, Mrs. Dixon, and Mrs. Gainey. Now that classroom operations were running smoothly, these concerns needed to be addressed and taken care of as soon as possible. Some students were not attending school regularly, some were moving out and returning the following week, and others casually strolled in at 10:00 a.m. every morning. Dixon felt hard pressed to provide adequate support to the family, who could then empower their children. Dinners and nonalcoholic "happy hours" were provided for parents to get them to come to the school. Many times, hard work resulted in just a few parents attending, yet the Hopkins facilitator continued to encourage Mrs. Dixon to keep trying, and parent attendance at various school activities increased over the year.

As the year progressed, many battles were won and few were lost. Business partners were identified; students became enthusiastic about cooperative learning; and young students became very appreciative of good literature. Teachers seemed to reap the benefits of SFA strategies and consequently began to create skillful approaches to implementing SFA. Tutors continuously shared the dynamics that resulted during the 20-minute one-to-one sessions, and teachers, facilitators, and tutors celebrated the successes experienced by students. Special education resource students were tested and mainstreamed into SFA reading classes. One fifth grader, Gerald, stands out today as a reminder of how successful the SFA program has been at Dallas Nicholas. A special education resource student who started out with serious reading and emotional problems, Gerald now wears a proud smile and can be heard constantly saying, "I am a super reader! If you don't believe me I'll show you. Listen, I'll read for you. Do you have the time?"

Dr. Bernard Harris Elementary

Dr. Bernard Harris Elementary School was one of the original "Chevy" schools. Unlike Dallas Nicholas, Dr. Bernard Harris got off to a slow and rocky start when it began implementing Success for All in fall 1988. One major problem was that the federal dropout prevention grant was not awarded until September, so schools had to be recruited in early October when classes were already under way. Also, Dr. Bernard Harris is a large school (650 students), so the pretesting took a long time. For these and other reasons, Success for All was not under way until December 1988. Soon thereafter, the Hopkins facilitator left. A second left at the end of the school year. Lynne Mainzer, who wrote the following section, was the third Hopkins facilitator but has been the primary contact with Dr. Bernard Harris for 3 years. She wrote the following based on her own experience and on conversations with the principal, Alma Brown, the Chapter 1 master teacher, Janie Ahmed, and other staff.

* * *

In the fall of 1988, Alma Brown, principal of Dr. Bernard Harris Elementary School, attended a meeting on effective programs for students at risk, where she heard about Success for All. Because her school was doing poorly in reading, Mrs. Brown thought the program might assist teachers in providing effective instructional strategies in this area. Arrangements were made for a representative of the SFA program to speak to the school faculty at the next scheduled faculty meeting.

Before the end of November, the faculty had voted with over 80% agreeing to implement the program immediately. A facilitator had been hired by Johns Hopkins part time to spearhead the process. The staff had opted for a phase-in plan: prekindergarten through Grade 3 the first year, Grade 4 the second year, and Grade 5 during year 3. With the school year well under way, the principal, staff, and facilitator had to make up for some lost time. Staff training and materials dissemination were the first order of business.

The Hopkins facilitator took responsibility for coordinating training, assessing students' reading levels, reorganizing reading groups to meet the guidelines of the program, and monitoring the implementation of the program in general. In the meantime, the principal restructured the school to provide tutors, Grade-Level Teams, and a School Planning Team. Within a month, teachers were delivering instruction to students at the same reading level, children were reading in partner pairs, and students in need of assistance were receiving one-to-one tutoring. As the year continued, the facilitator met regularly with teachers, demonstrated lessons, regrouped the students every 8 weeks, assigned students to tutoring, and helped develop an attendance incentive program for the entire school. The teachers, facilitator, principal, and students were working together to meet the challenges of the beginning phases of implementation of the SFA.

As is typical of most schools, the first summer brought some changes to this newly restructured elementary school. Several teachers who had been trained in SFA had taken new positions, and I was assigned to the school as the Hopkins-based facilitator. Because I was new to the staff, getting to know the faculty and gaining their trust became my first priority. In the first meeting with the principal, I volunteered to help with staff development throughout the year. Playing an integral role in inservice training provided me a forum to share the effective teaching techniques in SFA and a chance to become acquainted with colleagues.

During this meeting, the principal indicated that, due to the rushed pace of the first year, most teachers needed to develop skills in cooperative learning. Much time had been spent organizing the materials and learning the basic activities that are part of the program. More instruction was needed on how best to manage the class to foster reading achievement and the commitment to helping others learn. At the end of the first training, which focused on managing cooperative teams, several teachers approached me and asked for additional information. In talking with these motivated teachers, I decided to form a core team of interested faculty members. The team met monthly to learn effective instructional techniques that enhance the implementation of the SFA program, to share activities that were successes in the classroom, and to grow in understanding the purposes, rationale, and processes of the SFA program. This core team developed a high level of competence and offered support to other teachers in the building. The core team acted as a study team and a coaching team for other staff members, offering me invaluable support and a link to all grade levels in the school, because each grade level was represented on the core team.

Regularly scheduled meetings with both the core team and the principal revealed needs in the areas of developing greater expertise in implementing the components of the program, in understanding the philosophy and goals of SFA, and in building an organizational structure that fostered collegial collaboration. To address these challenges, I drafted a three-tiered staff development plan for the 1990-1991 school year focusing on cooperative learning, classroom management through teamwork, collaboration and collegial partnerships, effective implementation of SFA curriculum, and community service. This plan offered numerous opportunities for teachers to study effective teaching strategies and to foster cooperative work relationships. On the first level, activities were directed toward the entire staff, prekindergarten through Grade 5, and the faculty met in Cross-Grade Teams for all staff development sessions. Level 2 activities were designed to continue the success of the core team and to establish Grade-Level Teams that meet on a regular basis. Level 3 focused on building partnerships to support implementation of the curriculum and strategies under study.

I supported the formal training initiatives by demonstrating lessons, chatting with teachers at lunch about improving the quality of instruction, coteaching, monitoring students' progress in reading class, helping to supply teachers with necessary materials, and offering words of encouragement.

I also kept the principal well informed on the effectiveness of the structures designed to follow up on the formal training sessions. Regular biweekly meetings with Mrs. Brown were scheduled to review and strategically plan the next steps in this collaborative approach toward implementing the philosophy, goals, and practices of the SFA program. Mrs. Brown's support was essential to maintaining the credibility of this three-tiered approach to staff development.

As the 1990-1991 school year continued, two additional staff teams emerged to meet the challenges of "doing whatever it takes" to ensure success for all: a Tutor Team and a Family Support Team. The development of these organizational structures lent support to the classroom teachers who were not being successful with absentees, disruptive students, and students who were not making adequate academic progress in reading.

By the end of the second year of the program, the majority of teachers had a strong grasp of the curriculum aspects of the program and were enjoying working with their colleagues in the core team, Grade-Level Teams, Tutor Team, Family Support Team, and collaborative partnerships. It was clear that positive effects were occurring in the classroom as a result of the inservice training opportunities, especially those in which teaming structures reinforced topics covered in formal staff development sessions. It was also clear that these outcomes could still be improved. The effective teachers needed to continue to share their expertise with others to enhance students' achievement.

The Cross-Grade Faculty Teams became the basic structure for all faculty meetings and school projects. Teams completed community service projects, read and discussed journal articles on various topics (cooperative learning, SFA, and thinking skills), and took responsibility for traditional school committee functions. Coaching partners within the teams visited classes and collaboratively taught lessons across all subject areas. Time and opportunity were provided to the teachers to work in teams and receive consistent training by the principal. A request was made to the central office to modify the schedule to allow students to be released at 12:30 p.m. once every 2 weeks. We were interested in creating a staff development plan that would integrate cooperative learning and thinking skills into all the content areas and across all grade levels. As of the end of the fourth implementation year, the staff of Dr. Bernard Harris Elementary has nurtured a school climate of cooperation and teamwork. Teachers and students are working in teams and are taking responsibility to help one another achieve. The teachers speak a common "cooperative" language and use consistent management techniques to help the students to understand the schoolwide expectations inherent in the school's motto: "Strive Not to Equal, But to Excel."

Implementation Issues Over the Long Run

Over the years since Success for All began, change has been the only constant. Alice Pinderhughes, the superintendent we began with and a strong supporter, was replaced when a new mayor was elected. The new superintendent was frankly hostile to outsiders working in the schools. Only recently has a new and more receptive administration begun to repair the damage this caused. Principals have changed at four of our six original Cadillac and Chevy schools. In one case, this caused a school to leave the project; the principal decided to shift all her tutors from first to second grade and to make other changes that we could not support. Incidentally, this school has continued to use many elements of SFA even without our active involvement. Our research staff has remained stable, but we had a great deal of turnover among our Hopkins facilitators in the early years. The school-based facilitators have also changed over the years, as have the Chapter 1 master teachers who took on much of the facilitators' role in the Chevy schools. Two of the original group have become principals and three vice principals. Turnover among teachers and tutors also has been high.

Despite these many changes, most of the elements of SFA have held up well over time. The reading curriculum and the early childhood curriculum have been implemented with reasonably high fidelity in all schools. Family support activities vary substantially from school to school, but all schools have more family activities and better attendance than they did before the program began. Most schools have maintained a spirit of working together to ensure the success of every child. New teachers have been effectively socialized into the schools' norms and procedures.

Over the long haul, there have been a few major continuing problems. One is a constant tension between district policies for schools in general and (where they clash) policies for SFA schools. Despite the fact that Baltimore city administrators were involved from the very beginning, and despite monthly steering committee meetings with district administrators, central office support for the program has been unclear since Alice Pinderhughes left the superintendency. This has put principals in an awkward spot. They support the program and feel that it works for their students, but they know they must respond to district edicts. The most serious problem along these lines has to do with tutors. Even though all schools became Chapter 1 schoolwide projects and therefore have much flexibility in use of Chapter 1 resources, many felt pressure to continue to serve all eligible children rather than concentrate on preventing young children from falling behind. As a result, several schools have limited one-to-one tutoring. In these schools, "tutors" are essentially doing what Chapter 1 pullout teachers have always done, working with small groups of students to remediate deficits.

Schools have usually rebounded from changes in facilitators, teachers, superintendents, and other staff, but principal changes have been very difficult. Changing principals is less of a problem in districts with unambiguous systemwide support for the program, but when district support is questionable the principal must be willing and able to stand up for the program and make it work.

Despite many problems (which continue today), the longevity of the Success for All programs throughout the country is remarkable. We have lost only one school, and even that one has continued to use most program elements. We feel that there are three keys to this high degree of program maintenance. One is the comprehensiveness of the program, in particular the comprehensiveness of the reading and early childhood curricula. It is difficult for teachers to slide back into old practices when they have attractive, complete, and effective materials to facilitate new practices. A second key is, of course, effectiveness. Teachers see kids reading and writing at a much higher level than before, and they will fight to maintain a program that clearly is working. The third and perhaps most essential key is continuing support from Johns Hopkins. Our experience is that no innovation lasts in education without outside support. District support will sustain innovation but it is rarely of a nature to maintain the *quality* of an innovation. Our staff spends fewer days each year with experienced schools, but our commitment is to stay in contact forever. This is critical to maintain the spirit and fidelity of implementation over time and is especially important as changes in district and school staff create moments of extreme vulnerability. We visit even our most experienced schools at least twice a year and invite their facilitators and principals to an annual conference in Baltimore, primarily to maintain a support network. Isolated outposts of innovation rarely survive, but, with continuing support from a national or regional network, effective innovations can thrive even in inhospitable environments.

References

Slavin, R. E. (1987). Ability grouping and student achievement in elementary schools: A best-evidence synthesis. *Review of Educational Research, 57,* 347-350.

Slavin, R. E. (in press). School and classroom organization in beginning reading: Class size, aides, and instructional grouping. In R. E. Slavin, N. L. Karweit, B. A. Wasik, & N. A. Madden (Eds.), *Preventing early school failure: Research on effective strategies.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Slavin, R. E., Karweit, N. L., & Madden, N. A. (Eds.). (1989). *Effective programs for students at risk.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Slavin, R. E., & Madden, N. A. (1991). *Success for All at Buckingham Elementary: Second year evaluation*. Baltimore, MD: Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students.

Slavin, R. E., Madden, N. A., Karweit, N. L., Dolan, L., & Wasik, B. A. (1992). *Success for all: A relentless approach to prevention and early intervention in elementary schools.* Arlington, VA: Educational Research Service.

Stevens, R. J., Madden, N. A., Slavin, R. E., & Farnish, A. M. (1987). Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition: Two field experiments. *Reading Research Quarterly, 22,* 433-454.

Wasik, B. A., & Slavin, R. E. (1990, April). *Preventing early reading failure with one-to-one tutoring: A best-evidence synthesis.* Paper presented at the annual convention of the American Educational Research Association, Boston.

5

The Changing Role of the Principal in a School of Choice

PHILIP HALLINGER
CHARLES HAUSMAN

> American education has a new buzzword: restructuring. It's not exactly clear what the term means. Indeed, everyone who uses it seems to have something different in mind. The common thread appears to be that recent efforts to improve public education have fallen short and that drastic new strategies are necessary.[1]
>
> Fiske, 1990, p. B6

Over the past half-dozen years, numerous school districts throughout the United States have begun to reframe and reform their operations. The grass-roots nature of this phenomenon has resulted in school districts implementing a wide range of activities under the rubric of *school restructuring* (Murphy, 1991). Such site-specific

---

AUTHORS' NOTE: This research was conducted under the auspices of the National Center for Educational Leadership, a consortium of Harvard University, Vanderbilt University, and the University of Chicago. This investigation was supported by U.S. Department of Education Grant No. R117C8005. The views expressed in this chapter are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the sponsoring institutions.

variations in school restructuring reflect the realities of implementing an ambiguously defined, grass-roots innovation.

The absence of a common definition for *restructuring* is, however, an impediment for those who are interested in understanding the exigencies of implementation as well as the effects of school restructuring. At this stage in the current reform cycle, practitioners and policymakers can benefit from contextualized descriptions of the experiences of schools and districts as they implement localized versions of school restructuring (Murphy & Hallinger, 1992).

This type of data is especially salient for principals and teachers who must cope with fundamental change in the nature of their work context. Despite a burgeoning prescriptive literature, it remains unclear what skills and capacities site leaders need to succeed in these transformed educational settings (Crow, in press; Goldring, 1992; Hallinger, 1992a; Leithwood, 1992). The concepts of parental choice, teacher empowerment, and school-based management represent new organizational arrangements in which school leaders must function. For example, Goldring (1992) has noted:

> Principals of schools of choice in Israel face increasingly complex role definitions. . . . It is clear from an external management point of view these principals face very uncertain, complex environments. They are almost totally dependent upon external constituencies for their own survival, as well as the survival of their schools. . . . Consequently, these principals under an extremely high amount of external uncertainty, are expected to create professional, pluralistic schools. (pp. 58-59)

These new externally derived pressures and expectations suggest that principals (and other leaders at the school site) will need capacities that go well beyond those delineated in the effective schools research of the 1980s. As Leithwood (1992, p. 8) has noted:

> "Instructional leadership" is an idea that has served many schools well throughout the 1980s and 1990s. But in light

> of current restructuring initiatives designed to take schools into the 21st century, "instructional leadership" no longer appears to capture the heart of what school administration will have to become. "Transformational leadership" evokes a more appropriate range of practice.

Images of transformational leadership emphasize the capacity of the principal to engage others as leaders rather than the ability of the principal to direct the efforts of parents and staff.

Although we agree with these general perspectives on the changing role of principals, we also believe that such images of leadership for restructured schools are too abstract and prescriptive to be of use to practitioners. Images of transformational leadership must be grounded in descriptions of practice in real schools. It is critical that our understanding of leadership at the school site take full cognizance of the difficulties entailed in fundamental reform as well as the means by which people in schools cope with the shifting ground on which they must now operate.

Our focus in this chapter is on the restructuring process at one elementary school in a district that is currently engaged in fundamental reform of its schools. We examine one of the district's policy reforms—the implementation of controlled parental choice and magnet themes—and its impact on the principal's role in a single elementary school. Our primary goal is to understand how the implementation of an interrelated program of parental choice and magnet themes is influencing the context for leadership at the school site. We explore how the leaders in one school have responded to this challenge over the course of 2 years of planning and approximately 3 years of implementation. In light of this analysis, we discuss implications for the role of the principal under these changing organizational conditions.

Context for the Research

This case study focuses on the process of restructuring in a moderately sized, suburban school district in the eastern United States. This school system's experience is noteworthy for several reasons. First, it is a multiethnic, socioeconomically stratified district that faces many of the challenges of urban schools in the United States. The school district serves a significant minority (approximately 50%) student population, many of whom live in clusters of low income housing.

Second, unlike many urban school systems, this district also possesses an impressive array of human and fiscal resources. The city is ringed by several large corporate and industrial parks whose occupants support high levels of school expenditures (i.e., well over $10,000 per pupil annually). This has allowed the school system to support a diverse, richly endowed educational program that has achieved national recognition.

Third, this district's program of school restructuring addresses simultaneously three features often discussed in the recent education reform literature: school-based management, shared decision making, and parental choice. The superintendent has targeted the whole system for fundamental change rather than simply one subsystem or structure.

Finally, this case contrasts with other widely publicized instances in which school districts have offered individual schools the opportunity to restructure if they so desired (e.g., Miami-Dade County Schools). The school system that is the subject of this research has sought to restructure the educational process through a systematic districtwide approach. This suggests the potential for adding to our understanding of the district's role in educational reform (Cuban, 1990; Fullan, 1991; Tyack, 1990). The confluence of these three features led us to view this particular reform effort as a particularly useful case for furthering our understanding of how school restructuring unfolds in practice.

Restructuring the Bridgewater Schools

In February 1988, after 2 years of planning, the Bridgewater[2] Board of Education approved an ambitious plan for restructuring the school system. The major impetus behind this reform was the community's commitment to the development of a viable and effective way to maintain a comparable racial/ethnic balance in its elementary schools. The elements of the restructuring plan (i.e., a parental choice program, school-based management, site-based decision making, facility changes) were designed to support the new racial/ethnic balance policy.

The logic behind the overall strategy for restructuring undertaken is contained in the following guidelines developed by the district:

1. To achieve the desired high standard of ethnic balance, a controlled parental choice plan was adopted whereby parents could choose which of the system's elementary schools their children would attend.[3]
2. If parents were to make choices among the elementary schools, there needed to be a *programmatic* basis for the choices, not simply geographic convenience or the reputation of the principal or teachers.
3. Rather than having the focus of each school determined by a needs assessment conducted centrally, it was decided that each school would initiate a building-based process for defining its mission and programmatic emphasis. This would result in each school adopting a specific theme for its educational program.
4. To provide incentives for school staffs and parents to invest seriously in this grass-roots program definition and development process, the schools needed to be given considerable latitude and discretion over educational decision making by the school board and central administration.
5. If important decisions about educational programs were to be decentralized to the school level, there needed to be a structure and process in place at each building to ensure that these decisions would be made in a participatory manner.

The implementation of the varying facets of the district's restructuring program has been unfolding over the past 3 years. The decentralization of decisions to schools has been an incremental process rather than an abrupt shift in authority. After 3 years of struggle with the issues that attend the redefinition of role relationships, staff members are still trying to delineate clearly which decisions are in the domain of the schools and which are to be retained centrally.

More substantial progress has been made in the design and implementation of a procedure for shared decision making at the building level. School Leadership Councils (SLCs) have been established at each elementary school building. The SLCs comprise equal numbers of parents and teachers elected by their respective stakeholder groups. The principal sits as a voting member of the council but may not chair the body. Decisions are made by consensus whenever possible, and, when not, by a 75% vote.

A major task that confronted each of the schools was to develop a thematic component for its educational program. This was undertaken at each of the schools by the teachers under the leadership of the principal. A half-time theme facilitator has been appointed at each of the buildings to assist with the implementation and integration of the school's curricular theme into its broader educational program. As noted above, the primary purpose of the theme was to provide a basis by which parents could differentiate schools.

Concurrent with the adoption of school themes, a parental choice plan went into effect. Parents may now choose which of the district's five elementary schools they wish their children to attend. A parent information center has been established in the central office to enable parents to make informed decisions, to coordinate the selection process, and to ensure that schools meet the district's equity goals.

Methodology

The findings reported in this chapter are drawn from a 5-year case study of this school district's efforts to restructure its schools. Given the sparse empirical literature on school restructuring, we believe that researchers and practitioners will benefit from rich descriptions of efforts in progress. The data presented here are descriptive and therefore suitable for identifying and exploring issues concerned with school restructuring rather than for testing hypotheses. Thus our goal is to clarify and extend issues that have been raised during the initial stages of policy advocacy, research, and practice in school restructuring.

Two modes of data collection were used to produce the data set for this chapter: informant interviews and document analysis. The interviews were held on site at the schools and typically lasted between 45 minutes and 1½ hours. All of the interviews for this report were audiotaped and subsequently transcribed. The findings presented here are drawn from the interviews conducted over a 3-year period (1989-1990 to 1991-1992) of implementation. They include 11 principal interviews, 2 interviews with the school's *theme facilitator,* and annual interviews with the chair of the school's leadership council.

The interviews had a dual focus. Initially, we sought to elicit the individuals' personal understandings and conceptions of the purposes of restructuring. This phase of interview questions sought to have the principals describe what restructuring meant to them personally and the desired effects on the school, staff, and students. Semistructured and open-ended questions were asked during this stage. We were interested in discovering the principal's visions for his or her school today and for 5 years hence. Moreover, we sought to understand in this phase how the principals and teacher leaders thought restructuring would enable them to bring about change in the school.

The second focus for the interviews concerned the implementation process. Here, we started by attempting to develop an understanding of each school's history and culture. We also gathered background information on the informants themselves. This led, over time, into questions designed to generate descriptions of the implementation process as experienced and perceived by the participants. Each of the major components of the district's reform agenda—shared decision making, school-based management, and parent choice—represented a domain for questions. Increasingly, over the 3-year period, we moved to open-ended questions with probes to assess the processes and impact of restructuring on the roles of the participants.

Analysis of the interview transcripts proceeded through two stages. First, the content of the individual interviews was read to identify emergent patterns and themes. As analysis proceeded, cross-role comparison identified additional themes and dilemmas arising from conflicting perceptions. This led to the second stage: a reanalysis of the original sources and a concurrent examination of alternate data sources (e.g., school documents). The longitudinal nature of the study further allowed us to recheck developing themes with individuals during subsequent interviews.

As stated above, school documents related to the implementation of the school's restructuring effort were also analyzed. These included the agenda and minutes for the monthly SLC meetings for each of the 3 years of implementation, the school's parent handbook (revised annually), copies of the school's improvement plan, and a series of planning papers written by the superintendent on the district's restructuring program. These documents were examined primarily to check patterns that arose from the analysis of the interviews. For example, at various points during the 3 years, informants made statements about the goals of the SLC. Analysis of trends in the nature of meeting topics, time allocation to categories of topics, and decisions made by the council provided an additional data source by which to check the perceptions of the participants. These data also served as a second means for generating themes.

Case Study

In this section of the chapter, we show how the implementation of school restructuring—specifically a parental choice program and associated magnet themes—has influenced the context for leadership in one elementary school. We begin by briefly describing the school context and then turn our attention to the role of the principal. We discuss how this role has evolved during the course of 3 years of implementation. Particular attention is paid to the impact that the transition from a traditional school model to the choice-magnet model has had on the principal.

The School Context

Eastside Elementary School is a K-5 school serving approximately 500 students. Like several of the other elementary schools in the district, it has recently converted from a K-4 to a K-5 grade format. The composition of its students is currently 19% Hispanic, 49% Anglo, 30% black, and 2% Asian. The socioeconomic distribution spans the full ranges from low SES to high SES. Students attend Eastside from predominantly minority housing projects, working-class neighborhoods, and upper-middle-class areas of town.

The school, which is housed in a three-story brick building typical of urban schools built in the 1930s, is located in a commercial zone in town. The facility is well maintained. During the course of this research, the school was engaged in an ambitious renovation program designed to allow the accommodation of the fifth-grade classes. The impact of the reconstruction during the simultaneous implementation of the district restructuring plan cannot be understated. The extent of the principal's time commitment to the building expansion during the first year of this study led him to comment that at times he felt "like an architect" (September 1989). The construction was concluded in October of the third year of the study (i.e., fall 1991).

The teaching staff. The staff of 35 teachers has been stable over the past decade. Most have been at Eastside for more than 10 years and almost all have tenure. There are numerous special area teachers and support personnel (e.g., in the areas of art, PE, the library, and science as well as a psychologist, social worker, and assistant principal). The teachers are represented by the American Federation of Teachers, which has a strong presence in the district and the school. In general, the union leadership has been moderately supportive of the district's restructuring initiative. With the advent of this reform effort, several new leadership positions were created in the school for teachers, including posts on the Leadership Council as well as the theme facilitator.

The principals. Two principals have led Eastside Elementary School during the 5-year period encompassed in this research. During the 2 planning years and the first year of implementation, Jack Cameron was the principal at Eastside Elementary School. He retired at the conclusion of the 1989-1990 school year and was succeeded by Peter O'Hara.

Jack Cameron served as principal at Eastside for 13 years. Previously, he had been principal of another elementary school in the district for 10 years. Cameron had worked in every school in the district over the course of his career and was an influential force in the school district. He acted as negotiator for the principal's bargaining unit and had once served as president of the state administrators' association. He took great pride in his school and was concerned about maintaining its tradition of educational excellence.

With respect to his leadership style, Cameron admitted to being a directive principal who was used to *making the decisions*. He jokingly described his leadership orientation as being like "Attila the Hun," though he claimed that under the current district restructuring he had become "more like Mary had a little lamb" (September 1989). This contrast in styles reflects the wholesale change in expectations experienced by Cameron under the new district policies. In fact, the new role requirements were so troublesome to Cameron that he decided to retire at the end of the first year of implementation of the district's restructuring program.

Cameron was succeeded by Peter O'Hara at the start of the 1990-1991 school year. In his early forties, O'Hara came to Eastside from a nearby city's public schools, where he had served as an elementary school principal for several years. Many of O'Hara's perceptions of events at Eastside were colored by his prior experience in this urban environment, which has clearly served as a reference point for him. His school in the city served an extremely poor neighborhood. Although his former school did not have anywhere near the level of resources available at Eastside, O'Hara was proud of having had a hand in turning the school around.

By O'Hara's attribution, his success in the city was due, in part, to the extensive involvement of his teachers in schoolwide educational decisions. This was, in fact, one of the characteristics that led to his selection as the new principal at Eastside. For us, as researchers, the succession of principals made it possible to observe how principals with contrasting experiences, leadership styles, and personal values responded to the challenges and opportunities of school restructuring. This lent both complexity and richness to the case study.

Parental Choice and Eastside's Magnet Theme

In this section, we describe the theme developed by the school under the magnet school-controlled choice plan. We also examine both the principal's role in implementation of the theme and the perceived impact of this reform on the role of the principal.

Assumptions of the thematic approach. We noted previously that individual schools were given the responsibility for developing their own *themes.* The assumptions underlying the thematic approach were twofold. The first assumption was that themes would make schools distinctive, thereby appealing to differing value orientations of parents in the community. The distinctiveness of the magnet school programs would attract students from various parts of the district, reducing the ethnic imbalance inherent under the traditional scheme of neighborhood schools. The reader will recall that the district's first motivation for undertaking the restructuring effort was to address, in a positive manner, ethnic imbalance in student assignment across the elementary schools. Second, it was assumed that the process of developing school-specific themes would energize the professional expertise and creativity of the staff. This would result in greater staff motivation and ownership of the school's educational program, which, in turn, would lead to improvement in the teaching and learning process.

The experience of the district thus far suggests that ethnic imbalance is being addressed successfully through the program of controlled parent choice. Distribution of students by race/ethnicity has been equalized among the elementary schools. All parents are getting one of their top two choices of elementary schools. While parental choice has apparently solved the problem of ethnic imbalance, our data are less clear concerning the goals of restructuring the teaching and learning process and energizing the professional expertise and creativity of the staff through the development of school themes. We consider this and related issues in the following sections.

Eastside's school theme. Eastside has adopted as its theme the concept of *school-community partnerships.* This reflects the school's desire to connect its educational program offered to students with the community outside of school. The selection of this theme also reflects the staff's desire for students to develop a stronger awareness of their responsibilities to society as well as to each other. Moreover, faculty were apparently interested in making the application of knowledge a higher priority in the curriculum. Finally, the staff believed that these partnerships would provide an opportunity to take fuller advantage of untapped community resources.

Toward this end, partnerships have been developed with local businesses (e.g., a major department store, television studio, nursing home, and a real estate firm) and public institutions (e.g., the public library). Each community partnership was developed with a specific grade level.

Teachers work with staff from their community partner to develop curriculum applications related to the partner's business. These curriculum units then form the basis for partnership activities. At times, students go out to the partner's location; at other times, employees from the partner's organization come to the school.

Thus implementation at the different grade levels has varied widely. Teachers have been given wide latitude in the direction they may take with respect to their grade level's interpretation of the community partnership theme. The principal and the theme facilitator have had to work hard to maintain some continuity across the school while providing support for the initiative at the different grades. The need to build and sustain cohesion has placed a greater premium on communication among the staff and greater demands on teachers' (and the principal's) time than seems typical in traditional school settings.

The Principal's Role in Implementing the School Theme

Two features of the school choice component of the reform have influenced the role of the principals: the distribution of students to schools via the choice plan and the adoption of school themes. The redistribution of students to schools has meant that parents have become more active participants in one of the most basic decisions that affects the education of their children, the choice of elementary school. Students in the district are no longer assigned to schools simply on the basis of their neighborhood or catchment area.

Under the new process, parents are provided information about the schools on which to base their decisions. Written information is coordinated through a central Parent Information Center, which also processes the choices in a manner that will maintain the desired ethnic balance across elementary schools in the district. The most important information obtained by parents, however, appears to come directly from the schools through site visits. In our descriptions below, we will address how this process has been handled by both principals.

The second issue concerns the nature of the themes adopted by schools as a means of *product differentiation*. Although the engine driving this district's restructuring effort is the need for ethnic balance, the desire to improve teaching and learning is a concomitant goal. It seems that conceptual differences in the way in which the school personnel, especially the principals, have conceived of their themes have a significant impact on implementation.

Although our focus here is on a single school, we would note that the approach taken by principals toward the role of the school's theme has varied dramatically across schools. Of interest, at Eastside, principal succession afforded an opportunity to observe how two different principals in the same setting would approach the implementation of the partnership theme. We turn now to a consideration of how each of these aspects of restructuring (i.e., choice and magnet theme) has influenced the role of the principal(s) in this school.

Jack Cameron: Initial implementation of choice and the magnet theme. The adoption of parental choice has had several effects on the principal's role, some quite obvious, others more subtle. Initially, considerable effort was invested in the development of brochures and other written information about the school. More time consuming, however, has been a new version of a traditional school ritual: the school tour for prospective parents.

Traditionally, principals have greeted parents who were new to the community and provided them a tour of the school. Although such orientations have always been time consuming, their frequency was generally limited. Now, however, the initiation of the choice plan has meant that principals may give over 100 tours to parents faced with a decision on the school to which to send their child, and this is in addition to traditional large group parent meetings that are usually conducted semiannually.

Thus there is a completely new emphasis (and pressure) for principals to obtain and retain students for their schools. Cameron elaborated:

> There is no doubt about it. We are more competitive, and I happen to believe in competition. I spoke at the parent association meeting two weeks ago . . . we now set up a schedule where we say these are the days visitors may come to the school; now, there are ten full days and two nights. I do this myself; I have to sell the school, the atmosphere. (January 1989)

This led Jack Cameron to comment that, under the new system, "you become more of a manager of people and more of a public relations artist" (September 1, 1989). This illustrates an increased sensitivity to the demands of parental choice as well as to the complexities involved in working with parents in new decision-making roles.

The idea of having individual school themes was conceived at the central office level as a vehicle to address ethnic imbalance. Jack Cameron's perspective on the substance and purpose of the school's magnet theme, however, was stated quite clearly and differently. He felt that it was of paramount importance that the theme not interfere with his school's educational program. Thus he asserted:

> We are committed to computer education; we are committed to science. We have a state syllabus for social studies that must be taught, a language arts curriculum. . . . We have to be an academic school, as does every school in the district, because we're all feeding into one school . . . , but what we do extra will be the curricular changes. Thus, at Eastside, the partnership theme will result in moving the

> children into the community (e.g., adopting senior citizens) and relating the experiences to the basic curriculum. (September 1989)

The sentiment that the role of the school theme was to *enhance* the basic educational program was congruent with his belief that the school was already doing an outstanding job of educating its students. He was determined not to let this curricular innovation dilute Eastside's tradition of excellence. As he noted, "[Our school] scored the highest in the city in science on state tests. We're not going to give up the academic standards we have" (May 1989).

Thus the traditionally high levels of student performance at Eastside influenced both the goal and the substance of the principal's approach to implementation of the choice-magnet plan at Eastside. Because activities designed to implement the theme were primarily viewed as *extras* or *add-ons* during Cameron's tenure, it was unlikely that the basic curriculum of the school or the predominant methods of classroom instruction would change in significant ways. On the contrary, as we have already noted, one of his primary concerns was to protect the school's basic curriculum from threats of dilution and decreased standards. Therefore, under Cameron's leadership, the goal of the restructuring was to improve incrementally a traditionally successful instructional program by appending the partnerships theme.

As leader of the school, Jack Cameron was therefore cautious. He implicitly viewed his role as a *buffer*—protecting the school's core program from potentially unfriendly influences—and as a *renovator*—examining how the district's interest in restructuring could be scaffolded onto the school's current program. Thus implementation of the partnership theme at Eastside initially proceeded in a manner that was consistent with the district's magnet guidelines, and its limited scope increased the potential for successful implementation. The clearly delimited boundaries of Jack Cameron's vision also, however, represented a limitation in terms of the theme's potential for fundamental changes in staff commitment and student learning.

Although the school only engaged in 1 year of implementation of the restructuring plan under Jack Cameron's leadership, two points are clear. First, his clearly bounded vision of the theme's role in the school was significantly less ambitious than the vision of transformed schooling delineated by the superintendent and supported by the school board. The superintendent, in particular, viewed the theme building aspect of the restructuring as a key mechanism by which to engage teachers in reexamining educational practice in the district. The process of creating a school theme would, it was hoped, lead to the development of a more collaborative school culture and ultimately to the successful implementation of more powerful and complex curricula and methods of instruction.

Second, the boundaries of Jack Cameron's vision for the theme had a demonstrable influence on the implementation effort. Planning during the first year was sporadic and little pressure or support was provided for teachers to engage in the type of curriculum redesign necessary for a full integration of the partnership theme into the curricular and instructional programs. The school was meeting the letter of the district's mandate, but not its intent. Of course, this was only the first year in a comprehensive change process, so we would not expect to see full-scale implementation so soon. Nonetheless, the principal's values concerning the needs of the school and his power base among the faculty seemed sufficiently strong to insulate the school's program for some time to come.

Buffering the school, however, began to take its toll on Cameron, and he retired at the end of the first year of implementation. The stresses that accompanied working on the restructuring program proved more than he chose to contend with. The increased involvement of teachers and parents in decision making, escalating pressures to *sell* the school, and the perceived threats to the program he had helped build at Eastside created a very different context for principal leadership than he was accustomed to: one in which he was clearly uncomfortable.

Following Cameron's retirement, the SLC was charged by the superintendent with assisting in the selection of a new principal. The selection process provided for extensive teacher involvement in the identification and interviewing of principal candidates. Unfortunately, the selection process suffered from a recurrent problem that has plagued the district's venture into school-based decision making. Lack of clarity with respect to decision-making roles led the SLC to misinterpret the superintendent's charge.

When the superintendent subsequently chose a candidate who was not one of the finalists nominated by the school's committee, teachers' latent mistrust of the central office was reinforced. For the purposes of this chapter, we do not delve into the details of this incident. We would, however, note that the enhanced complexity of decision making throughout the system places increased stress on all participants, particularly when trust and time are in short supply.

Peter O'Hara: Adapting tradition and reform. Like Jack Cameron, the new principal, Peter O'Hara, has been required to make a substantial adjustment to the restructured school setting. The choice component of the restructuring plan has meant many more hours interacting with parents individually and in groups. Ironically, 2 years and 9 months into the implementation of the choice program, he made an interesting observation:

> The theme as part of parents' choice is really minimal . . . What they're [parents] really interested in is the second half of the presentation, which is about the typical kindergarten day, what that means to their child, and what we have to offer down the line in terms of support services. . . . I'll stop at the end of this formal presentation . . . and there are no questions. I think that I've had one question as it relates to the theme in twenty sessions. (March 1992)

In reflecting further on this issue, O'Hara reiterated his belief that parents do not seem to be making their choice of school based on the theme. He noted that, although they currently have up to 100 parental visits, an atypically high number of visits for a traditional school district, "you just don't get the kind of probing questions that you might expect from parents who are making, supposedly making, a choice of school based at least partially on the theme" (March 1992). Despite this impression, O'Hara noted that prospective parents who visited several of the schools and then came back to Eastside claimed that they did see differences in the schools, though the differences were not clearly related to the themes.

With respect to the nature of the theme, Peter O'Hara's conception of "partnerships" differs substantially from his predecessor's. O'Hara believes "the theme should be driving what we do," and, ultimately, "it [the theme] will lead to where it should be, which is an integrated curriculum; and that's going to take a lot of effort and time" (December 1991). His vision of the partnership theme entails fundamental changes in the way that curriculum and instruction are conceived of at Eastside. Rather than merely adding partnerships onto the existing curriculum, O'Hara views the theme as a tool to revamp the teaching and learning process.

> Kids are now beginning to experience a more holistic approach which is helpful, because our curriculum is being bombarded by infusions. This has got to be included; that has got to be included . . . so what's happening is that it's all vertical inserts and what we need to try to get across to people are horizontal connections. I think the theme is beginning to do that in short and small ways . . . but I think it will eventually lead to an integrated curriculum. (March 1991)

In fact, O'Hara sees the theme as a vehicle for influencing both cognitive and affective outcomes for children. He noted that exposure to adults outside the school provides a very different forum for student learning. For example, the first grade's partnership is with a nursing home where students interact on a regular basis with senior citizens. Here, the curricular emphasis is explicitly on both cognitive and affective tasks.

To enact his broader vision of restructuring, O'Hara has attempted to organize the school improvement plan around the partnerships theme. As an educational leader, his focus in the 2 years he has been at Eastside has been on framing and communicating a guiding vision for the integration of the theme into general school improvement planning. When pressed to describe the relationship between the school's improvement plan and the theme, he responded:

> The school plan basically encompasses or will include all of the initiatives in the school, as it relates to connecting what's going on in various programs in classrooms to the theme of that particular grade. . . . the umbrella theme, which is education through partnerships, is a broad amorphous topic, but what it does is it allows people to use that framework to guide them as they make their lessons. (March 1992)

O'Hara later added, "Originally, the plan was broader than the theme. People are now moving the other way" (March 1992). Thus the theme has been placed in a pivotal position for school improvement. He further expressed the hope that,

> as we move toward . . . redesigning the school plan and making the curricular linkages that we need at this point . . . . all the different grades are going to get together and begin to look at how we can link what's going on in the theme with our objectives . . . and then we're going to follow through with other half-days with each grade level through the course of the year. We'll have some sense that there is a connection. (March 1991)

Consistent with his beliefs, as principal of Eastside, Peter O'Hara has functioned as a *catalyst* and *enabler.* He has viewed his role as providing the resources necessary for his staff to draw upon for implementation of the partnerships theme. The strength of the theme implementation under O'Hara's leadership has been his support for the development of new skills and attitudes among teachers as well as for new organizational arrangements (e.g., common planning time). As one might predict, observable changes in curriculum and instructional practices have proceeded slowly and have varied greatly across grade levels. In the following section, we consider some of the issues that seem to have influenced both the general implementation of the theme and the principals' role.

Implementation issues for teachers. Although the district's restructuring plan has had the support of most stakeholders in the district, its ambitious scope has encountered varying degrees of resistance, particularly among the largely veteran staff. During the planning years and the first year of implementation, a common refrain heard among teachers was this question: "Why is this district reorganization going to be any different from the previous ones?" Given the veteran teaching staff in the school system, there was a strong and ever present institutional memory.

Eastside was no exception. Teacher skepticism about the need to change, especially on the part of experienced staff members, has been a difficult obstacle to overcome. O'Hara has addressed this difficulty:

> A lot of the older staff members, people who have been in the building for a long time, still [after 2 years] are not quite convinced of the need to change. They're not saying you shouldn't do it. They're not picketing, but there's not the enthusiasm on their part. . . . Some of the staff say let's do it; this is great. The kids have changed . . . , so let's see if we can come up with a better package for the kids. Unfortunately, there is also that kind of tendency that my formula has been successful for 25 years; the people coming to my room go out well prepared. Why do I have to make the change? (January 1991)

During the subsequent years of implementation (i.e., years 2 and 3), there has been less overt reference by teachers to past reorganizations. Active skepticism, however, has been replaced with an attitude on the part of much of the teaching staff at Eastside that the district must prove its sincerity in the reform effort. On an almost continuous basis, the veteran teachers test the decisions of the administration (central office and the principal) against their belief that the reform is another ploy to get more work out of them.

The implementation challenge has not, however, been focused solely on the veteran teachers. O'Hara has also noted the difficulty of integrating new teachers into the thematic approach. The veteran teachers are not the only ones who have not been trained in more complex instructional strategies such as cooperative learning and peer tutoring. The need for novice teachers to learn these approaches as they attempt simultaneously to master the basics of teaching has led to increased anxiety.

Regarding teacher anxiety, O'Hara believes the district can significantly reduce it. He stressed the importance of building additional time into the school day for planning.

> You need to give time to people, and you can't necessarily reimburse people in terms of money. . . . It's got to be time during the school day. It's got to be that commitment on the part of the school district in order for it [theme implementation] to work. Then, I think you may see some easing up of the anxieties about being involved. (March 1991)

The school's theme facilitator also believed that she could help to minimize teachers' anxieties. She felt that her first responsibility was to provide a clear conception of the theme so that the teachers could see the structure and validity of it, thereby providing them with an incentive to buy into it. She described her role with the following observations:

> [In the first year] there was really no form to it [the theme], and people had to see something. Therefore, the first part of my year was spent just developing concrete partnerships so each grade level could see that they had something. Then, the something had to be integrated into the curriculum. (December 1991)

Of interest, the theme facilitator often felt "at loggerheads" with the regular classroom teachers. Varying interpretations of the theme abounded and led to conflicts and frustrations over the use of resources allocated for the new program. She summarized this frustration by stating:

> I feel oftentimes there's partnerships and partnerships. You can't call everything a partnership, and that's what I find when somebody wants something they say "oh we

> can do it because it's a partnership." To me that's just a way of rationalizing. (December 1991)

Gradually, over a 3-year period, the focus on the theme and the awareness of its potential have intensified. Analysis of the minutes of the SLC shows a clear pattern during the first 2 years of a disparate focus. The SLC was unable to effectively marshall its energy and resources toward implementation of the theme. As the theme facilitator noted:

> Our focus, judging from the minutes, is [now] much more instructional and not just nitty gritty stuff that . . . we don't have to waste our time with. But, [initially] we were so confused in our new sense of power in shared decision making that we might have talked about the plumbing. (December 1991)

Some probable reasons for this change include the leadership of the theme facilitator and principal, additional common planning time for same-grade-level teachers, and a greater number of more informal discussions among the faculty (e.g., during lunch, before and after school). In part, it has also been the result of additional staff experience in working together to make educational decisions. To overcome the staff's fear of failure and encourage risk taking, O'Hara has consistently communicated: "If it doesn't work, it's not that it failed. It just didn't meet the needs of the kids at that point, so you try something else" (September 1990).

It has been a slow and challenging process for the partnerships theme to be integrated into the curriculum, even to the extent that it has been to date. After 2 years of effort, O'Hara predicted, "It's going to be at least two more years for it [the theme] to become a natural part of the curriculum, a natural part of the way people think" (March 1991). Although progress has been made, the theme has yet to achieve full maturity. The greatest obstacle to overcome is likely to be the challenge of articulating the theme across grade levels. Currently, theme implementation is almost exclusively horizontal, with some grade levels significantly further along in the process than others.

A greater awareness of the theme's potential is only now beginning to influence teachers and students. O'Hara has observed:

> They [teachers] are talking together. They're planning together. They're validating each other's suggestions and ideas . . . , and that's great. We're breaking down the old four walls type thing. . . . not only does it [the theme] give the teachers a reason to examine their present practices, but it also gives us an opportunity to take the larger district, . . . and use that as a guide as we look at the partnerships we're doing. Are we doing something for the sake of doing something differently, or is it having an impact on our kids? I think this has given people an opportunity to not only think about it themselves but to work with their colleagues. (March 1992)

In addition to the incremental increase in cooperative planning and reflective behavior among the teachers at Eastside, O'Hara also believes the partnerships theme is partly responsible for a greater use of instructional strategies such as cooperative learning, peer tutoring, and whole language. To the extent that this is the case, it is significant because these methods are believed to be more effective with the school's diverse student population. As expressed in the following statement, he credits the heightened awareness that has accompanied the theme with providing the impetus for more teachers to request the opportunity to enhance their abilities to use these techniques:

> Rather than simply saying the kids are different than they were five or ten years ago, people realize that they have to do something proactive in dealing with that. Using the theme as a moving force, people can see that training or retraining in these various areas has helped them improve what they are trying to do. (March 1992)

Despite these perceived benefits, one concern regarding the theme, a lack of valid assessment of the outcomes that are purported to stem from it, remains to be addressed. This weakness was highlighted by both the theme facilitator, who labeled it as "the big hole in the plan" (December 1990), and by O'Hara, who remarked, "The objectives are not clearly outcome-based. The assessment is not as accurate, as clean as it should be" (December 1991). After 3 years of implementation, the relationship between the theme and the overall school plan is evolving, but a tight connection between the evaluation system and goals has yet to be forged.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have described the initial experiences of a school that is attempting to restructure. This venture was initiated by the central office administration as opposed to staff in the schools. This makes the district's effort to implement policies that increase parental choice and promote autonomy and programmatic distinctiveness at the school sites an interesting case for study. Few empirical reports have explored the implementation of restructuring efforts such as those attempted in this school system (David, 1990; Goldring & Hallinger, 1992; Hallinger & Edwards, 1992).

The current analysis examined implementation of the district's controlled parental choice-magnet theme component at one school over a 3-year period. The focus for this chapter was on how this reform has changed the context for principal leadership as well as how the principals have responded to this challenge. Consistent with prior commentary (e.g., Goldring, 1992; Leithwood, 1992; Murphy & Hallinger, 1992; Vandenberghe, 1992), the case study data suggest that the principal's role has been altered significantly under the new policy framework designed to support the district's restructuring. Findings in two areas seem especially noteworthy: environmental leadership and instructional leadership.

Environmental Leadership

Several researchers have asserted that parental choice plans place a greater premium on the principal's ability to manage the school's environment (Crow, in press; Goldring, 1992; Vandenberghe, 1992). Under a program of parental choice, there is a more direct relationship between the school's performance and the resources available to staff than in the typical public school system. In such contexts, these researchers have reported greater pressure on principals to legitimate the school's decisions so as to maintain community support. Moreover, they have suggested the need for principals to allocate more time and effort to such activities.

In this case, and consistent with the theoretical framework of Crow (in press), we have found increased pressure on the principal (and staff) to attract and retain students. As Crow (in press) has predicted, the principals have assumed the role of an "entrepreneur who must define, redefine, and maintain a market that is attractive to those making the choice" (p. 8). The parental choice program makes the principal explicitly responsible for marketing the school and its services. In this school, as well as in the other school that we have been studying, this has had an observable impact on the principal's time. At Eastside, both Cameron and O'Hara indicated specific ways in which the controlled choice plan has added new responsibilities (e.g., development of marketing plans and products such as brochures) and extended the amount of time needed to fulfill traditional responsibilities (e.g., parent tours and meetings).

In addition, a recognition that the stakes for the school's performance have been raised was implicit in the principals' remarks. The parental decision on whether or not the child should attend and/or remain at Eastside has introduced a direct form of accountability that has not been there in the past. These features of the school context, as well as the direct participation of parents on the School Leadership Council, have made parental beliefs, values, and perceptions more central in the lives of professional educators.

This new emphasis on environmental leadership highlights capacities that are seldom included in principal preparation or inservice development programs. Issues concerned with marketing one's school generally have been considered trivial in educational leadership programs. Similarly, notions of customer service that are so prevalent in profit-making organizations seem increasingly relevant to both the tasks and the ways that principals must think in this context for education (Crow, in press; Vandenberghe, 1992). As parents becomes less constrained in their options within public school systems, principals and teachers begin to view them more naturally as consumers and themselves as providers of a valued service (Weindling, 1992).

With more direct accountability, it will benefit principals and teachers to understand how their actions are perceived by parents. The discrepancy between how educators and parents view schooling was illustrated in our data on the impact of themes on parent choices. As noted, it was Peter O'Hara's impression that the school's theme was not the major factor in parental decisions on the school to which to send their children. Yet, the whole parent choice plan has been predicated on that assumption! Data are currently being collected from parents to better understand their choice decisions. Regardless, it would be appropriate for aspiring and practicing principals to develop greater awareness of and sensitivity to the importance of external constituencies as well as some tools for dealing effectively with them.

The Changing Instructional Leadership Role of the Principal

At the outset of this chapter, we alluded to recent assertions concerning the evolving role of principals as transformational leaders (Leithwood, 1992). While notions of transformational leadership are attaining increased popularity, there is no consensus on how the principal's leadership role changes in a policy environment that incorporates choice and magnet themes. Our data begin to suggest that these features of the district's restructuring have created not only greater dependence on the environment but also increased complexity within the school. Specifically, implementation of the school's magnet theme assumes a much higher degree of interdependence and goal consensus than is typically found in schools.

This implies a need for greater coordination within grades, across grades, and with the school's environment (e.g., grade-level partners). At Eastside Elementary School, some of this coordination is not the sole responsibility of the principal. Program coordination is also accomplished through the efforts of the theme facilitator, members of the School Leadership Council, and the assistant principal. Thus, consistent with notions of transformational leadership, the principal's role has evolved, to some extent, into being a *leader of leaders*.

Early commentary on school restructuring implied that principals might simply act as managers in restructured schools (Carnegie Forum, 1986). Empowered teachers would assume greater responsibility for instructional leadership. While responsibility for instructional leadership is clearly more diffuse at Eastside than in the past, this has not diminished the need for the principal's instructional leadership. With more people involved in educational decision making, it has been our observation that there is an even greater need for the principal to understand the nature of educational processes and their impact on teachers and students.

As Leithwood (1992) has noted, the continuing evolution of this role is contingent on the decision-making context in which principals work. The data from this single case study support the notion that the emphasis on instructional leadership that developed during the 1980s remains salient to the role that principals assume in restructured schools. These same observations, however, support the need for additional capacities among those who lead restructured schools—capacities that go beyond the technical focus stressed during the 1980s (Hallinger, 1992b; Leithwood, Begley, & Cousins, 1992).

The idea that principals will function increasingly as *leaders of leaders* accentuates the capacity of the principal to work effectively in group problem solving. The ability to manage complex change in collaboration with other school-based leaders—both parents and teachers—is a skill that seems to be of paramount importance. This leads fairly directly to a recommendation for training that develops the ability of principals to identify appropriate problems and marshall the expertise of faculty toward productive solutions.

Less obvious, but at least as important, is the need to examine the concerns of school leaders other than the principal. While it is critical that principals obtain the leadership skills needed to effectively manage increasingly complex organizations, their effectiveness will be mediated to a significant degree by the capacities of those with whom they work. At Eastside, it has taken several years for the teacher leaders to *begin* to integrate the particularistic view of the school they have held as classroom teachers with the more general view required for addressing the needs of the school as a whole.

Notes

1. Copyright © 1990 by the New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

2. The mode of parental choice implemented here is referred to as "controlled" to connote the limited bounds of the parents' choice. Choice of schools in this case is limited to the public schools in this school district. Moreover, although every effort is made to satisfy parental requests, parents are not guaranteed their first choice of school. Parental choices are balanced against the criterion of racial/ethnic balance across schools.

3. The names of the district, school, and personnel in this chapter are pseudonyms.

References

Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy. (1986). *A nation prepared: Teachers for the 21st century*. Washington, DC: Author.

Crow, G. (in press). The principal in schools of choice: Middle manager, entrepreneur, and symbol manager. *Urban Review, 24*(3).

Cuban, L. (1990). Research, restructuring and radical ideas. *Phi Delta Kappan, 71*(6), 414-418.

David, J. (1990). Restructuring in progress: Lessons from pioneering districts. In R. Elmore (Ed.), *Restructuring schools: The next generation of educational reform* (pp. 209-250). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Fiske, E. (1990, February 14). Finding a way to define the new buzzword of American education: How about perestroika? *New York Times*, p. B6.

Fullan, M. (1991). *The new meaning of educational change*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Goldring, E. (1992). System-wide diversity in Israel: Principals as transformational and environmental leaders. *Journal of Educational Administration, 30*(3), 49-62.

Goldring, E., & Hallinger, P. (1992). *District control contexts and internal school processes.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Hallinger, P. (1992a). The evolving role of American principals: From managerial to instructional to transformational leaders. *Journal of Educational Administration, 30*(3), 35-48.

Hallinger, P. (1992b). School leadership development. *Education and Urban Society, 24*(3), 300-316.

Hallinger, P., & Edwards, M. (1992). The paradox of superintendent leadership in school restructuring. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 3*(2), 131-149.

Leithwood, K. (1992). Images of future school administration: Moving on from "instructional leadership" to "transformational leadership." *Educational Leadership, 49*(5), 8-12.

Leithwood, K., Begley, P., & Cousins, B. (1992). *Developing expert leadership for future schools.* London: Falmer.

Murphy, J. (1991). *Restructuring schools: Capturing and assessing the phenomenon.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Murphy, J., & Hallinger, P. (1992). The principalship in an era of transformation. *Journal of Educational Administration, 30*(3), 77-88.

Tyack, D. (1990). Restructuring in historical perspective: Tinkering toward utopia. *Teachers College Record, 92*(2), 170-191.

Vandenberghe, R. (1992). The changing role of primary and secondary principals in Belgium. *Journal of Educational Administration, 30*(3), 20-34.

Weindling, D. (1992). Marathon running on a sand dune: The changing role of the headteacher in England and Wales. *Journal of Educational Administration, 30*(3), 63-76.

6

Coordinating School and District Development in Restructuring

MICHAEL G. FULLAN

The relative roles of schools and school districts present a perennial problem in educational reform. It has become evident that neither centralization nor decentralization works. Attempts at restructuring have reopened the problem rather forcefully. In this chapter, I start with site-based management, indicating its limitations and raising troubling questions about the role of the district in educational reform. Second, I describe the case of the Learning Consortium in the greater Toronto area as an example of school-district codevelopment, which clarifies how schools and districts should interrelate. Finally, I present a number of lessons about school-district development but ultimately leave open the question of whether we should have school districts at all.

Site-Based Management and School Districts

In reviewing evidence on site-based management in *The New Meaning of Educational Change,* I concluded that restructuring reforms that devolved decision making to schools may have altered governance procedures but did not affect the teaching-learning core of schools (Fullan, 1991, p. 201). The evidence continues to mount.

Taylor and Teddlie (1992) draw similar conclusions in their study of the extent of classroom change in "a district widely acclaimed as a model of restructuring" (p. 4). They examined classrooms in 33 schools (16 from pilot schools that had established school-based management [SBM] programs and 17 from nonpilot schools in the same district). Taylor and Teddlie did find that teachers in the pilot schools reported higher levels of participation in decision making, but they found no differences in teaching strategies used (teacher directed instruction, low student involvement in both sets of cases dominated). Further, there was little evidence of teacher-teacher collaboration. Extensive collaboration was reported in only 2 of the 33 schools and both were from the low participation (nonpilot) schools. Taylor and Teddlie (1992) observe: "Teachers in this study did not alter their practice . . . increasing their participation in decision-making did not overcome norms of autonomy so that teachers would feel empowered to collaborate with their colleagues" (p. 10).

Other evidence from classroom observations failed to indicate changes in classroom environment and student learning activities. Despite considerable rhetoric and what the authors saw as "a genuine desire to professionalize teaching, . . . the core mission of the school seemed ancillary to the SBM project" (p. 19). Substantive changes in pedagogy (teaching strategies and assessment), and in the way teachers worked together on instructional matters, proved to be elusive. These findings would not be as noteworthy, claim the authors, except for the fact that "the study occurred in a district recognized nationally as a leader in implementing restructuring reforms" (p. 16). Similarly, Hallinger, Murphy, and Hausman (1991) found that teachers and principals in their sample were highly in favor of restructuring but did not make connections "between new governance structures and the teaching-learning process" (p. 11).

Virtually identical findings arise in Weiss's (1992) investigation of shared decision making (SDM) in 12 high schools in 11 states in the United States (half were selected because they had implemented SDM; the other half were run in a traditional principal-led manner). Weiss did find that teachers in SDM schools were more likely to mention decisions about the decision-making process (i.e., composition of committees, procedures, and so on), but "schools with SDM did not pay more attention to issues of curriculum than traditionally managed schools, and pedagogical issues and student concerns were low on the list for both sets of schools" (p. 2).

Similar findings were obtained in the implementation of the Chicago Reform Act of 1989. In essence, this legislation shifted responsibility from the Central Board of Education to Local School Councils (LSCs) for each of the city's 540 public schools and mandated that each school develop School Improvement Plans (SIPs). The LSCs by law consist of 11 or 12 members (six parents, two teachers, two community representatives, the school principal—and, in the case of high schools, a student). Easton (1991) reports that the majority of elementary teachers said that "their instructional practices had not changed as a result of school reform and will not change as a result of SIP" (p. 41).

The conclusion I draw from this evidence is not that school- or site-based management is a bad thing but that we cannot assess its evolution unless we take into account the context in which it occurs. More fundamentally, *to restructure is not to reculture.* Once we focus on the latter, we begin to seek answers to the question of what kinds of short-term and mid- to long-term strategies will be powerful enough to alter the existing culture of teaching and learning. Another tantalizing conclusion is that schools, even empowered ones, will never become hotbeds of continuous reform and improvement, if left to their own devices.

I maintain also that research on site-based management has neglected to examine the district, especially with a teaching-learning lens (David, 1991; Fullan, 1991). In many cases, the district is merely a descriptive backdrop to school-level investigations. In others, the district's formalistic role—waiving certain policy requirements, allocating funds, setting up and training site-based councils, and the like—is described. The main conclusion, if one digs deep enough, is that one gets an inkling of what districts should *not* be doing (e.g., no more centralized district curriculum development, no more blanket districtwide staff development) but little sense of what the new role should be. Ambiguity and ambivalence are likely the predominant situation for district supervisors and curriculum resource staff. What is especially missing and needed in the research on districts is not research on districts qua districts but on the changing *role relationships* between schools and districts.

Until very recently, the district has been studied a lot less than has the school. Hall, Putman, and Hord (1985), for example, in examining the roles of district personnel in 11 districts found great variation and lack of clarity. They subtitled their study: "What We Don't Know." A few recent research efforts have begun to analyze the problems more clearly.

Rowley's (1992) case study of school district restructuring covering a 12-year period is instructive and I expect represents a familiar story. Sequoia Valley School District in California engaged in a major restructuring effort in the early 1980s following the appointment of a new superintendent in 1979. By 1985, the district had created a mission statement and a comprehensive strategic plan. The superintendent and the board "adopted a philosophy of school-based management." Over time, however, the board became dissatisfied with the uneven development and fragmentation of effort. The superintendent and board began to establish a number of particular programs with external funds and consultants and small groups of teachers and administrators in such areas as "whole language," "early childhood centers," "cooperative learning," and so on and so on. Observes Rowley (1992):

> Confusion and heated debate inevitably resulted from the lack of clear definition and from the overload of new programs. Was restructuring going to be a centralized, program-driven process in which schools would obligingly align with problems and solutions identified by Board members, the Superintendent, and district level committees? Or, was restructuring going to remain a school-based process with the district office playing a supporting role?
>
> The answer was both. The philosophy of school-based management and strong site councils continued to be heartily espoused by the Superintendent and Board. But they also had committed significant resources to new programs and had installed program specialists in key administrative roles throughout the district. Thus, it became apparent

> that Sequoia Valley's leaders had inadvertently created oppositional dynamics for change and that during this middle stage the climate for restructuring had become more contentious than collaborative. (p. 26)

The result, not uncommon, was the appointment in 1990 of a new superintendent known for his advocacy of "tight school-based accountability and multiple methods of assessing student performance" (p. 28). Outcome-driven education became just the latest in the ebb and flow of district approaches. Because of its imposition and seeming incompatibility with preferred instructional approaches in many schools, conflict increased sharply. Within a year, doubts were being expressed by the board about the new superintendent's leadership style and its adverse affect on the morale of teachers and administrators.

In the title of his study, Rowley calls district restructuring "a search for coherence" and leaves no doubt that it has not yet been found.

So far, we have three conclusions:

1. Centralization does not work.
2. Decentralization does not work.
3. Simultaneous *uncoordinated* centralization-decentralization does not work.

The answer, I believe, lies in some form of "coordinated codevelopment of schools and the district." Like so many other aspects of the change process, "the solution" is paradoxical and inherently in dynamic tension (Fullan, in press). We turn now to the Learning Consortium: a large-scale effort in which four school districts and two higher education institutions have been working self-consciously on such codevelopment.

The Learning Consortium

The Learning Consortium is a long-term partnership (renewable 3-year terms), entering its fifth year as of July 1992, involving four school districts and two higher education institutions in and around Metropolitan Toronto, Canada. The districts are large: Durham Board of Education has 55,000 students; Halton, 44,000; North York, 59,000; Scarborough, 75,000.[1] Altogether, there are 500 schools and 13,700 teachers in the consortium boards. The two higher education institutions are also sizable: The Faculty of Education, University of Toronto, has some 90 faculty, 1,200 preservice teachers, and 5,000 inservice teachers; the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education has 140 faculty and over 2,300 part- and full-time graduate students.

The aim of the consortium is to improve the quality of education for students in schools and universities by focusing on teacher development, school development, and the restructuring of districts and the faculty of education to support improvement on a continuous basis. The consortium has three core objectives:

- To plan and initiate new programs in teacher development and school improvement
- To generate knowledge through documenting and researching these initiatives
- To disseminate what we are learning about teacher development and school improvement

In this section, I will provide a brief overview and selective look at some of the key activities and outcomes of the work of the consortium insofar as they illuminate the matter of school district codevelopment.[2] The consortium is not presented as an exemplar but as a living example of deliberately and reflectively working on school and district development, in which considerable progress has been made. It allows us to derive some positive lessons and to pinpoint some of the dilemmas and remaining problems.

I will first present an overview of activities to provide some idea of the content and scope of the work. I will then use one of the districts to illustrate more specifically what school district codevelopment looks like.

The Work of the Learning Consortium

While the basic assumptions and objectives were broadly stated, we were committed to launching specific initiatives to realize our aims. We began in 1988 with an emphasis on cooperative learning, a theme that provided a concrete point of departure. By year 3, summer and winter institutes on cooperative learning and follow-through support were well established; a new field-based teacher certification program was in place; dissemination conferences and inservice were carried out on such collaborative approaches as mentoring, induction, peer coaching, and school improvement planning. The consortium partners attempted to link these activities by paying attention to consistent themes such as teaching as career-long learning, fostering collaborative cultures, and focusing on instruction. One of the frameworks we developed to describe the work at the school level links "classroom improvement" and "school improvement" with the "teacher-as-learner" as the linchpin (see Fullan, Bennett, & Rolheiser-Bennett, 1990).

Some of the key areas of impact for the districts are summarized based on Watson and Fullan (1992, pp. 229-231).

Cooperative learning. In all four boards, cooperative learning emerged as a major focus and an integrating theme. This was particularly notable in boards such as Durham and Halton, where cooperative small group learning became a high priority not only for schools that had participated in the summer institutes but for the entire system. In Durham, for instance, the consortium served as a vehicle for helping to develop a coherent set of professional development and school improvement initiatives out of what had been a substantial but somewhat fragmented collection of activities. One Planning Group representative noted that cooperative learning

> seems to be a tying together kind of strategy that allows people to do each one of those things better. New curriculum guidelines call for students to work in small groups, with student evaluation to reflect this. . . . Up to the point of the

> Learning Consortium [we didn't know] how to go about training teachers so they could do effective small-group learning, and yet here it was in the guidelines. My God, how were they going to do it?

Instructional strategies. Just as school systems were refocusing staff development on improving instruction in the classroom, consortium programs were providing assistance with instructional strategies but within a context of collegiality in the workplace.

The North York board, for instance, was interested in developing and refining strategies for implementing coaching and mentoring programs within the new framework. After some initial struggles about how the Learning Consortium could support this, North York was able to see an emphasis on instruction as providing additional content for its coaching program—in the words of the Planning Group representative: "It has given us a good answer to the question, 'coaching for what?' We hadn't been clear exactly where we were going, and the Consortium helped us."

Supporting beginning teachers. This has become a focus for all the school systems, but each has used the Learning Consortium somewhat differently. In Dufferin-Peel, the need for large numbers of new teachers (more than 600 needed each year) has meant that provision of new teacher support has become the key around which many other programs develop. Learning Consortium involvement assisted the board in developing support for beginning teachers, while again an emphasis on a more collegial workplace has provided a framework for such programs. In Halton, the group of teachers and consultants who attended the first Summer Institute were responsible for planning for a systemwide mentor teacher program that has developed into a solid introduction to a process of career-long collaborative growth.

School-based staff development. The Learning Consortium emphasis on the collaborative workplace reinforced school-based development and helped to clarify the role of the principal in such efforts. In Halton, such efforts were linked to the system strategic plan, which in turn emphasized "school growth plans" developed within the framework of system priorities.

A model of professional development as a continuing process. The pattern of Summer Institutes followed by ongoing support has influenced how teachers and administrators view professional development. School board representatives report that participants are now more apt to see a workshop as simply the first step in making a change in their practice in schools. Educators are thus bringing a more sophisticated approach to both professional development and school improvement as teaching is becoming synonymous with "lifelong learning."

Increased professional development capacity in the system. Through involvement in the Summer Institutes, the leadership, and the work of Learning Consortium consultants, school boards developed greatly increased capacity for promoting growth within their own systems. In Halton, for instance, the original Summer Institute teams have been particularly effective as leaders in the system. The common focus and frequent networking increased their impact beyond what might have been anticipated, given their dispersal in a range of different locations throughout the region. In Durham, teachers increasingly took a leadership role in introducing and sustaining cooperative learning within their schools, while, in North York, a group of science teachers has taken a similar role in the school system.

Impact of outside ideas and resources. On the interaction with other consortium organizations, one Planning Group representative noted: "Of great benefit . . . have been the collegial relationships with the staff of our other partners in the Learning Consortium. The synergy that has come from sharing, discussing, and observing has given us professional growth opportunities beyond what we could have done alone."

Systemwide linkage among different programs. This last factor may be the most crucial one in determining the meaning of consortium membership for each school board. In Halton, for instance, the focus on instruction and on collaborative work cultures was consistent with the new board plan in which consultants work on helping schools identify and meet their needs within the framework provided by system priorities. North York has integrated much of the Learning Consortium work with its "Supervision for Growth" framework to ensure that it supports system priorities. Durham has strongly supported the expansion of cooperative learning as the focus of much of the expanding professional development. In Dufferin-Peel, on the other hand, there has been less system coordination of consortium activities. This is due to factors such as the rapid growth rate of new teachers and schools, a changeover in several leadership positions at the central level, and serious financial problems. The direct impact of the Learning Consortium has been restricted to a limited number of schools, and Learning Consortium initiatives are not seen as closely linked to other system priorities (Watson & Fullan, 1992, pp. 229-231).

In year 4 (1991-1992), the work has deepened and extended in a number of ways. First, cooperative learning has become thoroughly established to the point where districts are self-sufficient in the sense of having their own leaders who act in a training and trainer-of-trainers capacity within their districts as well as for other districts outside the consortium.

As school staff and other district personnel worked toward greater collaboration, paradoxically, "conflict management" became a focus. In a typical consortium approach, teams of school staff and district resource staff participated in a week-long residential institute on conflict management in the summer of 1991 and were supported in follow-through implementation in the 1991-1992 school year. In the 1992 Summer Institute on conflict management for additional teams, 20 participants from 1991 served as "skill coaches" to assist in running the program, thereby helping to leave a core of expertise in each district for follow-up support. Using this cascading model, we have found that extensive implementation and continuing internal capacity can be established even in large systems in approximately a 3-year period.

To spawn diversity and to support small-scale grass-roots initiatives, the consortium for the past 2 years has run a miniprojects program in which grants of up to $1,400 are allocated to projects involving two or more teachers. Eleven proposals have been approved for September 1992 on such topics as creating, implementing, and sharing cooperative learning between two schools; developing cultural tolerance through staff collaboration and cooperative learning; computer integration linking language arts, science, and math; and a transition years (Grades 7, 8, and 9) math project.

In the consortium as a whole, each new priority is selected on the basis of need and pursued in a way that builds on or otherwise integrates with developments already ongoing. Two priorities just under way focus on new approaches to "assessment of student learning" and "antiracist education or ethnocultural equity in education." The North York and Scarborough school boards have considerable expertise in developing antiracism policies and curriculum. As a new member, Scarborough's work on student assessment will make an important contribution in the consortium's upcoming workshops and conferences on new approaches to student evaluation. New partnerships for particular projects are also being forged with businesses as well as with teacher unions.

Through its commitment to inquiry, evaluation, and dissemination, consortium members have published many articles, made conference presentations, conducted workshops, organized national conferences, and received numerous visitors from many other provinces and countries. In addition, much research and evaluation are conducted by external investigators either through evaluation contracts or through studies by graduate students, professors, and visiting educators.

Finally, it is significant that the consortium runs virtually without outside funds. Each partner contributes $20,000 annually to generate a base budget of $120,000, which supports the secretariat and targeted evaluation and consultation. Most activities, such as the institutes, are funded directly by the participating institutions through staff development budgets. The consortium also generates some money through conferences, workshops, and consulting, which provide valuable marginal funds. More and more, externally funded projects are being sought to enable further work to be done. The fact remains, however, that the consortium is not seen as another temporary externally funded project but as a normal and integral part of helping the organizations move forward.

The Experience of the Halton Board

The Halton Board of Education to the west of Toronto is in a large geographic area with a range of communities from upper-middle class to subsidized housing. Halton serves 44,000 students and has 2,600 teachers in 82 schools. Without attempting to trace the evolution of the board, it is clear that the direction has been to shift from centralized planning to school-based management while retaining system coordination (see Stoll & Fink, 1992, for a more detailed account). At the district level, a formally adopted strategic directions plan identifies three focuses: instruction, school-based planning, and staff development. The strategies used in an attempt to achieve correlated development at the school and district levels include the following:

- The establishment of a broad-based mission statement and strategic directions statement that provide core foci while enabling flexibility
- The development of a School Growth Planning process as a means of achieving continued growth geared to each community's context
- The use of performance appraisal for teachers within the school and for vice principals and principals vis-à-vis the system that is integrated with the three strategic directions (instruction, school planning, and staff development)
- A selection and promotion process for new teachers, school administrators, and district personnel that stresses criteria such as collaborative skills, staff development participation and leadership, implementation planning, and knowledge of the change process
- A systematic commitment to continuous development through allocating staff development funds to each school, conducting systemwide institutes, providing training and support in school growth planning, and establishing a range of in-

depth leadership institutes for teachers, future administrators, and existing administrators (which allows, among other things, future vice principals and principals to develop a track record of capability regarding promotion criteria)

- A reorganization of the system designed to devolve instructional support closer to the school, including in-school resource teachers and area support staff
- The development of an assessment and evaluation system for the district, which provides periodic feedback into the processes described above

To illustrate how these processes unfolded at the school level, I take the case of Eleanor Adam, who was appointed principal of Frontenac elementary school in 1989—a K-8 school with 660 students and 37 teachers. Eleanor was a product of the new leadership training and criteria of promotion mentioned above. She was familiar with and had participated in the development of the strategic directions statement and was firmly committed to school-based planning.

Eleanor expressed and modeled her values and beliefs but did not force the development of a vision or growth plan at the beginning. She made it clear through her statements and actions that she believed the following:

- All students can learn, and the whole child and positive self-esteem are critical.
- The school is a community of lifelong learners.
- Teachers need recognition and support as well as involvement in decisions and program planning.
- Staff development is a key to success and must match the needs of the school.
- All schools can get better; understanding the change process is essential.
- The principal must actively facilitate the beliefs outlined above.

From the beginning, Eleanor Adam conveyed that staff development was essential and backed up her commitment with actions—not insisting on specific content but on deliberations about what staff development was needed. Among other things, with staff participation, she

- developed a timetable that gave Grades 1-6 teachers a common planning time;
- assigned herself and the vice principal to cover classes to allow further team planning;
- organized divisional events for children that provided periodic half-days for divisional planning by teachers;
- restructured division team meetings with a teacher chairperson and a staff development budget;
- revamped the Cooperative Supervision and Education procedure (the district's teacher appraisal procedure) from a perfunctory exercise to one that focused on team objectives, purposeful growth, and staff development support for the selected objectives;
- involved parents in the entry plan process and shared results with them and communicated regularly with parents to build trust—and listened and responded to concerns;
- initiated school growth planning teams with budget support, in which staff are involved in overall allocations and have some discretionary funds but must undertake their budget responsibilities as a team—and the principal spends considerable time looking for resources (in her words, "I spend dollars—no holdbacks—on program materials and staff development; this has proven to be a tremendous incentive even though the amounts are small");
- provided funds for teachers—in pairs or triads—to attend staff development sessions (more than 40% of the staff have attended 4-day institutes on cooperative learning);
- used outside consultants from the district and from the Learning Consortium district;
- involved the staff in an innovative teacher education program in the Learning Consortium that placed five student teachers in the school for 2 days each week—a program that was designed to link preservice, induction inservice, instructional strategies, and collaboration with external facilitation;

- used the opportunity to reinforce the notion of teachers as learners across the education continuum; and
- participated in continuous professional development herself, including the Summer Institute of the Learning Consortium and a 5-day leadership program in the district, both of which focused on instructional strategies, the process of change, and the development of collaborative work cultures.

By the end of the first year, a School Growth Plan was formulated. The growth plan now serves as a template for further and more systematic development of the culture and instructional priorities of the school.

The general consensus in the system is that things are happening at Frontenac. There is a positive feeling all round, although the process of cultural change is by definition not conflict free. The results are reflected in an "effective schools" survey completed by all teachers and a sample of parents in June 1990.

Although there are no premeasures available, the percentages of teachers agreeing with the statements in the measure are remarkably high for a large school, and the same is true for parents. The results are shown in Table 6.1. The school is now preparing to track student achievement as part of a larger assessment focus in Halton.

As one looks closely at the experiences in Halton, it is very difficult to sort out system and school influences. The school and community have considerable leeway and resources to formulate their own school planning process. On the other hand, the system influences the direction of change through short-term strategies—such as negotiating approval of school growth plans and performance appraisal packages and sponsoring staff development for leaders and school teams—and through longer-term strategies—such as selection and promotion procedures, assessment and evaluation, strategic directions, and allocation of resources.

The Halton School Board is self-consciously attempting to establish and balance school-based development with districtwide direction, coordination, and accountability. Two major tensions remain, ones that are also being experienced by the consortium boards: difficulties in redefining the role of district-level staff and accountability. Stoll and Fink (1992) describe the former:

TABLE 6.1 "Effective Schools" Survey Results

Agreement With Statement	*Percentage*
Teachers:	
Staff are committed to change, growth and improvement.	100
People in this school work together as a team.	82
High levels of trust and mutual respect exist in this school.	88
The administrative team is visible throughout the school.	100
The administrative team promotes collaborative problem solving.	75
The administrative team promotes staff development.	94
The administrative team is knowledgeable about resources.	91
Teachers like working in this school.	94
The school has a clearly articulated mission.	100
Parents:	
People in the school work together as a team.	92
School goals are shared with the community.	80
The administrative team places priority on curriculum and instruction.	88
Teachers in this school believe that *all* students can learn and be successful.	87
The school has a clearly communicated mission.	80

The reorganization of central office support staff required people in positions of responsibility to think and behave as service providers to teachers in schools, as opposed to deliverers of policy and procedure. Not only does this shift of paradigm require a new way of thinking, it also required different skills. People hired to positions because of their expertise and presentation skills had, in the past, developed

> and delivered curriculum in a very top-down manner. Implementation was, however, "hit and miss." (p. 34)

Both central curriculum resource personnel (in staff positions) and district superintendents (in line positions) are faced with new roles, which are more complex, less clear, and require new skills on their part.

A second source of problems concerns how accountability is managed. According to Stoll and Fink (1992):

> A dilemma, however, when a system decentralizes decision-making is to ensure that the money follows the responsibility. At the same time, it is important not to load down principals with so many management issues that they cannot function as instructional leaders. Accountants, because of their training and mandate to preserve the tax dollar, get very nervous when discretion over funds is given to site managers. Some principals, however, are reticent to accept decision-making over financial issues because they fear the accountability that such decision-making entails. A dynamic tension exists in the system over the decentralization of funds. (p. 35)

Halton does not see these problems as solvable in the definitive sense but as inherent in simultaneous top-down, bottom-up relationships. The key is whether the system can develop mechanisms and habits to address difficulties on an ongoing basis. Effective systems do not have fewer problems, but they do have better and more systematic problem-solving capacities (Darling-Hammond & Ascher, 1991; Louis & Miles, 1990).

Halton, like the other boards, "uses" the consortium not as a segmented project but as a vehicle for developing the system toward greater school-district coherence. Collective consortium projects are developed with this in mind, but so are particular initiatives that the district pursues independent of the consortium. That is, any specific development task is undertaken with the knowledge that it builds on or contributes to consortium work (see Stoll & Fink, 1992; Zywine, Stoll, Adam, Fullan, & Bennett, in press).

There are a number of difficulties in attempting to plan and coordinate in the consortium and districts as a whole, but the ideal is to strive for symbiotic, synergistic, mutually value-added relationships between districts and the consortium (Watson & Fullan, 1992). A clear example of these interrelationships occurs when teams (e.g., a principal and two teachers) participate in a consortium Summer Institute, return to work on school growth plans, and in turn formulate teacher and principal appraisal priorities to integrate with school growth and staff development.

Finally, a crucial part of the success of the consortium is the commitment to inquiry and its associated pursuit of new ideas inside and outside the system. Increasingly, educators in consortium boards are becoming active, critical consumers of research and practice in the wider arena of provincial, national, and international deliberations.

Lessons for School-District Development

First, the overriding lesson is that school-district codevelopment is an exercise in avoiding overcontrol on the one hand and chaos on the other (see Pascale, 1990). Stated positively, leadership in successful systems *conceptualizes* the problem as continually negotiating school and district codevelopment. Louis's (1989) analysis of the school-district relationships in the five urban schools studied by Louis and Miles (1990) is instructive in this regard. She found that there were two separate dimensions that affected the quality of the relationship. One she called the degree of "engagement" (frequent interaction and communication, mutual coordination and influence, some shared goals and objectives); the other she classified as the level of "bureaucratization" (the presence of extensive rules and regulations governing the relationship). To oversimplify, in situations of low engagement and high bureaucracy, Louis observes that there is frequent reference to rules but limited enforcement, because the schools and districts operate in isolation from each other. The principal, for example, often operates as a buffer to central rules. In the case of high engagement and high bureaucracy, Louis found conflict, interference, resistance, and ultimately failure.

The third situation—low engagement and low bureaucracy—is one of loose federation, informality, and a laissez-faire attitude, in which people essentially did not try to engage in comprehensive change. The fourth scenario—high engagement and low bureaucracy—presented "the only clearly positive district contexts" (p. 161). Louis (1989) summarizes: "Essentially, the picture is one of co-management, with coordination and joint planning enhanced through the development of consensus between staff members at all levels about desired goals for education" (p. 161). It was only the schools with this district profile that experienced successful school improvement projects.

Second, a preoccupation with *instruction* and *inquiry* (the constant pursuit of new ideas and practices) at both the school and the system levels characterizes successful districts. Corbett and Wilson's (1992) case studies of five districts corroborate this finding. They conclude that a clear and consistent message through "involvement, support, and communication" at all levels of the system is key to success. The six indicators of access to and use of instructional information in their study were: current teachers access, new teachers access, administrative access, teachers' use, administrative use, and common language.

It is significant that the most successful district in the Corbett and Wilson study used what the authors describe as a "controlled choice" strategy to coordinate school-district developments. The second most successful was a "top-started, bottom-run" district. The three least successful districts used approaches that Corbett and Wilson labeled "evolutionary" (less coordinated school-district exchanges), "bottom-started, bottom-run" (here we see again the problem of decentralization without system direction), and "countering diversity" (in which the district never was able to overcome disagreements and conflict in the system).

Third, a combination of *systemic, short-term, and mid- to long-term strategies* is required—systemic in the sense that the strategies generally work in the same direction and inevitably reinforce each other over time. In the Learning Consortium, short-term strategies include quality staff development, support, and communication, while mid- to longer-term strategies use criteria of selection and promotion, school growth planning, strategic directions policies, and the like to continually leverage system development.

Fourth, a complex dynamic occurs between *restructuring and reculturing* (see also Hargreaves, 1991). In most restructuring reforms, structure attempts to push cultural change, and mostly fails (Fullan, in press). Clearly, there is a reciprocal relationship required between the two, but it might be more effective if the conceptual and normative changes being attempted accumulate to drive structural changes conducive to new ways of working. It is much more powerful and meaningful when teachers and administrators begin working in new ways only to discover that school structures must be altered than the reverse situation in which rapidly implemented new structures create confusion, ambiguity, and conflict ultimately leading to retrenchment.

To conclude, while I believe that we have much greater clarity about what makes for more effective school-district codevelopment, we are not in a position to sign off on the matter. School districts, including the ones in the Learning Consortium, are currently doing a lot of soul-searching and reorganizing in attempting to figure out what their roles should be.

Among the options for the future (if for no other reason than it is being promoted politically in some jurisdictions) is an examination of whether we need local districts at all (see Elmore, 1991). In Great Britain, local education authorities appear to be on the wane as a result of new national policies supporting the local management of schools. The Chicago Reform, referred to earlier, replaced the huge district bureaucracy with local school councils (Easton, 1991). The question of whether one absolutely needs local districts is answered empirically in several European countries such as the Netherlands in which there are no districts as such. Each school within the context of national education policy has its own governance supported by regional pedagogical centers that act as resources but have no line authority.

In all of these examples, however, effective schools are ones that are plugged into their environments (Fullan, in press). Thus the surest conclusion we can draw is that schools cannot develop on their own. In short, a systematic, symbiotic relationship is required between schools and local agencies. The form that this should take in the future is still an open question.

Notes

1. Scarborough Board of Education joined the consortium in 1992, replacing Dufferin-Peel. The latter board decided not to renew its membership as a result of financial problems and difficulties arising from rapid growth of the system.

2. Thus only a description of a small slice of the consortium will be presented. I will not, for example, refer to the impact on the higher education institutions. For a fuller description, see Watson and Fullan (1992). Much has been written on and by consortium members. For further information, contact Ethne Cullen, Coordinator, Learning Consortium, Faculty of Education, University of Toronto, 371 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5S 2R7.

References

Corbett, H. D., & Wilson, B. (1992). The central office role in instructional improvement. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 3(1), 45-68.

Darling-Hammond, L., & Ascher, C. (1991). *Creating accountability in big city school systems*. New York: Teachers College, National Center for Restructuring Education.

David, J. (1991). What it takes to restructure education. *Educational Leadership*, *48*(8), 11-15.

Easton, J. (Ed.). (1991). *Decision making and school improvement*. Chicago: Chicago Panel on Public School Policy and Finance.

Elmore, R. (1991). *The role of local school districts in instructional improvement*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

Fullan, M. (with Stiegelbauer, S.) (1991). *The new meaning of educational change*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Fullan, M. (in press). *Change forces: Probing the depths of educational reform*. London: Falmer.

Fullan, M., Bennett, B., & Rolheiser-Bennett, C. (1990). Linking classroom and school improvement. *Educational Leadership, 47*(8), 13-19.

Hall, G. E., Putnam, S., & Hord, S. (1985). *What makes a difference? School context, principal leadership, and student achievement.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

Hallinger, P., Murphy, J., & Hausman, C. (1991). *Conceptualizing school restructuring: Principals' and teachers' perceptions.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

Hargreaves, A. (1991). *Restructuring restructuring: Post-modernity and the prospects for educational change.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

Louis, K. (1989). The role of the school district in school improvement. In M. Holmes, K. Leithwood, & D. Musella (Eds.), *Educational policy for effective schools* (pp. 145-167). Toronto: OISE Press.

Louis, K., & Miles, M. (1990). *Improving the urban high school.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Pascale, R. T. (1990). *Managing on the edge.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Rowley, S. (1992). *School district restructuring and the search for coherence.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Stoll, L., & Fink, D. (1992). Effecting school change: The Halton approach. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 3*(1), 19-41.

Taylor, D., & Teddlie, C. (1992). *Restructuring and the classroom: A view from a reform district.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Watson, N., & Fullan, M. (1992). Beyond school district-university partnerships. In M. Fullan & A. Hargreaves (Eds.), *Teacher development and educational change* (pp. 213-242). London: Falmer.

Weiss, C. (1992). *Shared decision making about what?* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Zywine, J., Stoll, L., Adam, E., Fullan, M., & Bennett, B. (in press). Leadership effectiveness and school improvement. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement.*

7

Restructuring Schools Through Empowerment

PAULA M. SHORT
JOHN T. GREER

Educational, political, and other public groups have advocated the restructuring of public education and the empowerment of school staff members (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Cuban, 1990; Maeroff, 1988). *Empowerment* is defined as the opportunities an individual has for autonomy, choice, responsibility, and participation in decision making in organizations (Lightfoot, 1986). Jenkins (1988) states that "to empower others is to give a stakeholder share in the movement and direction of the enterprise" (p. 149). The assumption is made that staff members who are able to initiate and carry out new ideas by involvement in decision making will, in turn, create enhanced learning opportunities for students (Lieberman & Miller, 1984; Short & Greer, 1989). Traditionally, however, school-level personnel are excluded from critical decisions including personnel allocation and hiring practices, curriculum, budget allocation, and scheduling of teaching time (Zielinski & Hoy, 1983).

The realization of the importance of staff involvement comes from work in business and industry focusing on the involvement of organizational participants in self-managing teams (Hackman & Oldham, 1980; Lawler, 1986; Manz & Sims, 1984). The creation of self-managing teams has been successful in empowering participants and improving the quality of the work of those in business and industry (Manz & Sims, 1987). Further, these studies in participative decision making in business and industry have revealed that involvement in key decisions increases worker productivity and sense of ownership (Lawler, 1986).

Currently, the major thrust of efforts to empower school participants appears to take the following forms:

1. providing teachers with a significant role in school decision making, thereby developing a sense of shared governance;
2. providing teachers with control over their work environment and work conditions; and
3. providing teachers with opportunities to contribute to the school in a range of professional roles: teacher, administrator, curriculum developer, mentor, and learner (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Cuban, 1990; Lightfoot, 1986; Maeroff, 1988).

Though school restructuring, empowerment, and teacher autonomy have become a national focus, empirical studies of the change process are lacking.

The Empowered School District Project

In this chapter, we present a case study of one school deeply involved in the empowerment process. Crestview Elementary School is one of nine schools involved in the Empowered School District, a project funded by the Danforth Foundation, Auburn University, and Georgia State University in a direct attempt to help nine school districts create empowered schools and empowered students.

The purposes of the project centered on the facilitation of empowerment of teachers, students, administrators, and other staff. More specifically, the objectives were

1. to assist central office administrators and board of education members in establishing autonomous, productive schools (schools free to make decisions about hiring, budget, curriculum, and so on);
2. to assist principals in reconceptualizing their roles from that of directors of their schools to developers of human potential;
3. to assist teachers in learning to make decisions and accepting responsibility for their decisions;
4. to assist teachers in reconceptualizing their roles from directors of classrooms to developers of student potential; and
5. to chronicle the empowerment process in each project school so that other schools may benefit from the experiences.

The project was initiated in 1988 at a 3-day conference of representatives from the school districts in Chicago. Participating from each district was the superintendent, the principal and a teacher from the participating school, and, in some cases, an assistant superintendent or school board member. The Empowered School District Project involved nine school districts representing a mix of urban, suburban, and rural settings. The nine schools ranged in size from 225 to 2,500. There were five elementary schools, one of them a private school, and four secondary schools. Districts in the project represented the states of Colorado, Utah, Alabama, Georgia, Texas, Missouri, and Ohio. The schools were selected based on opinions of national educational consultants and the two project facilitators that principal-teacher relations were positive and that the schools were recognized within their districts as being good schools.

During this initial conference, districts constructed a 3-year tentative plan that reflected an initial year of *formulation*, a second year of *developing and testing*, and a third year for *implementation*. The project was intentionally designed for a 3-year period to give districts time to seize the initiative and structure the empowerment process themselves to fit their specific school context. Over the 3 years of the project, the principal, lead teacher, teacher-chronicler, and facilitator from each school met together with the project facilitators for 4-day conferences twice a year. These conferences were intense sessions for sharing experiences, discussing concerns, sharing new ideas and information, and planning. The authors worked directly in these schools as project facilitators and have a unique perspective on the issues surrounding attempts to restructure the roles, responsibilities, and relationships of individuals in the school context.

As part of the project design, a school facilitator was selected by each school. These individuals were selected based on their knowledge about organizational change and the school context. The project facilitators felt that it was important for schools to select someone with whom the principal and faculty felt comfortable. Therefore each school controlled the selection process. Of the nine school facilitators, eight were faculty from universities close to the school districts and one was chosen from private industry. Six of the facilitators were professors of educational administration, one was a professor of special education, and another was a professor in the area of school counseling. The remaining facilitator was a trainer from private industry.

The school facilitators met with project facilitators during the first 3 months of the project to discuss expectations for their role in the schools. Flexible roles were established and included providing training to faculty in areas identified as critical by the school faculty, providing support to principal and teachers, and problem solving with the faculty and principal. Facilitators attended project meetings and conferences and, periodically, shared what they were learning among themselves and the other principals, lead teachers, and chroniclers.

The Case Study: Crestview Elementary School

Crestview Elementary School, one of three elementary schools within a suburban school system, houses kindergarten through Grade 4. It is located in a southern university town of 35,000 and has 480 students: 51% white and 49% minority. Over the past 10 years, the demographic characteristics have changed with the number of minority students increasing every year. There is a major university in the town within 5 minutes of the school. The school neighborhood is well established, with homes owned primarily by university personnel. Growth has been on the opposite side of town, and recent rezoning has caused the change in school demographic characteristics.

Crestview Elementary School was air-conditioned 8 years before the other elementary schools. The school was once thought of as the school of preference throughout the town, but the growth of the town, with changing student characteristics, has changed this perception. The school no longer serves only the affluent university population but now has a rising percentage of students characterized as low SES and minority. Some community members have correlated this change with a decrease in school excellence.

The instructional staff consists of 35 certified members and 6 noncertified members. The male principal, who has been at the school for the past 6 years, is assisted by a part-time assistant principal and a full-time counselor. The teachers at Crestview have always thought of themselves as hard working and cooperative. The principal initiated the school's involvement in the empowerment effort by contacting one of the project directors and requesting the opportunity to participate.

Methodology

Data Collection

A teacher from the school was trained in qualitative data collection methods (interviewing, observing, document analysis) by one of the project facilitators. This teacher served as a chronicler, recording events that occurred in this school relative to the project. This was necessary to capture the most important activities and events occurring on a daily basis in each of the schools. Data collected included field notes from 30 observations of faculty meetings, 30 team and committee sessions, and some informal classroom observations. All agenda from these meetings as well as documents circulated in the school relative to empowerment efforts were collected. All faculty were interviewed once a year by the school facilitator and teacher-chronicler to assess perceptions of empowerment efforts. Once a month, the principal prepared a tape recording reporting empowerment efforts and perceptions about process, issues, problems, successes, and concerns. All interviews and principal recordings were transcribed by a trained secretary at Auburn University. Verbal and written reports were collected at each of the 4-day meetings of the principals, facilitators, lead teachers, and chroniclers held at various locations around the country. Observations were conducted by one of the project facilitators at least 2 days per month for each of the 3 years of the project. In many cases, observations were conducted on a biweekly basis during the first 2 years.

Data Analysis

Data from observations, interviews, chronicler notes, school documents, and periodic project meetings and conferences were coded according to guidelines for grounded theory research, which centers on the discovery of themes and categories important to the phenomenon being studied (Bogdan & Biklin, 1982; Miles & Huberman, 1984). The constant comparative qualitative research design was used to ascertain the themes and categories of critical issues in facilitating change and creating empowered schools. This process involves (a) beginning data collection, (b) developing initial categories, (c) collecting data related to categories with an eye toward diversity under each category, (d) writing and describing incidents under categories, and (e) continuing to engage in sampling, coding, and writing as analysis continues with a focus on existing categories or development of new categories (Bogdan & Biklin, 1982). Themes and categories began to emerge from the within-school analysis. Triangulation was assured by the use of both multiple data sources and multiple researchers (Patton, 1990). Four themes emerged as significant and powerful issues faced in creating an empowered school: framing, process/content, trust, and communication.

Chronological Analysis

First Year

Selection to participate in the Empowered School District Project was received well by the principal and a few of the teachers. The lead teacher who attended the conference in Chicago was excited and brought back with her a shared enthusiasm with the principal. Not all the teachers on the staff endorsed the idea that involvement with the project was needed. Several teachers at the school, however, already were planning a cross-age grouping arrangement to change instruction, and they viewed student empowerment as a natural occurrence of cross-age grouping.

The first challenge that faced the principal and other teachers who really were interested in the project was building a climate for empowerment. The school climate was not perceived as being positive by several teachers. Teachers who were not in favor of the project were mostly the ones who had been at the school for several years and had seen many "new fads" come and go. To provide a context, it is important to note that, though the school entered the project believing that it was functioning well, it lost that complacency by the end of the first year. During that time, the school began to acknowledge areas of need in empowering the school. One faculty member at the school stated early in the project, "We're fine. We do a great job. We're already empowered here." She spoke for many of the faculty. At the end of the first year, however, teachers were taking the initiative to identify areas in need of new approaches and strategies. This evolution was a significant force in the project.

Early in October, after returning from the Chicago conference, the school superintendent spoke at a faculty meeting and "expressed strong rapport for the idea of empowerment." The response of the staff, however, was noncommittal. A week later, the project facilitators for the school came and talked to the staff. Again, the school staff was not enthusiastic. Actually, 2 months into the new school year, the staff was not motivated by the opportunity to participate in this national project.

There were some troubling signs that continued to hang on that seemed to drain the enthusiasm of the staff. The principal had asked the staff to evaluate the school climate toward the end of the second month of the year. This assignment really was not associated with the project. The results verified that the staff were dissatisfied with some areas of the principal's performance. Staff were asked, "If you could do one thing to improve working conditions at the school, what would it be?" The following are examples of the responses: "Replace the current administrator"; "more collaborative support is needed from the administration"; "effective leadership"; and "improve the relationship and attitude between staff and supervisor."

The results of the survey were discussed at a night meeting held at a local business with all but two teachers in attendance. The principal decided to let teachers meet without him. He wanted to demonstrate faith in their efforts to hold such a dialogue in his absence. The main agenda topic: "What makes a teacher feel empowered?" The idea of empowerment intrigued some of the staff members. Although there was not overt support of the project, there were glimmers of hope that the idea would take hold. After this meeting, several teachers formed a committee with the purpose of getting more information about empowerment. Several weeks later, they arrived at a definition of what empowerment meant to them: "a shared confidence in and recognition of each other and ourselves in a safe, healthy environment in which there are opportunities for growth and cooperative decision making."

January arrived and the staff had not decided whether they really wanted to participate in the project. The two project directors arrived to talk about the benefits of being in the project. They spoke to the faculty and also made a presentation to the school board. The district superintendent and school board endorsed Crestview's participation in the project. At this point, the principal expressed concerns about the following: (a) How do we solve problems? (b) What and how do we develop a rationale for becoming better problem solvers? (c) How can we develop a process by which we examine our options? (d) What is important to us? (e) How can we find a systematic process by which we deal with our concerns?

These concerns became a focus for empowering the teachers at Crestview.

During January, a faculty meeting was held and the teachers brainstormed about their needs, wants, ideas, projects, and thoughts concerning empowerment. Although some teachers felt that the staff already was empowered and therefore there was no reason to become involved with the Danforth project, others wanted to try and see if problems could be resolved. During the brainstorming session, a teacher wrote notes on the chalkboard. Before the session was over, three chalkboards were full. At this time, a teacher volunteered to become the chronicler for the project.

A major step occurred during this meeting. The teachers decided to vote on whether they wanted to endorse the school's participation in the project. The vote, by secret ballot, resulted in 13 votes for participation and 9 votes against. After this meeting, the commitment gathered strength and teachers began to work on the issues identified in the brainstorming session.

During February, nine teachers formed what was known as the Empowerment Committee. The committee began to work on the three issues that seemed to be the most important to the staff: implementing whole language, intervention for at-risk students, and scheduling. In addition, the full implementation of the cross-age team began as an approach to restructure instruction to meet the needs of the children. The school facilitator worked closely with the cross-age team in problem-solving sessions. The teacher-chronicler made available to the staff articles about issues that would provide helpful information for decision making. Teachers found the articles useful in planning solutions to the problems that were of interest to them.

The teachers wanted to inform parents about the project. In a memo written to the faculty, the teacher-chronicler stated: "I know it's important that everyone is informed about the process of teacher empowerment and that everyone has the opportunity for input into this process." The Empowerment Committee decided that the way to inform the parents about the empowerment efforts was to do a role-play in a PTA meeting. Teachers were asked if they wanted to volunteer to participate in a "fishbowl" activity in which they would brainstorm ideas with the parents. The topic was this: "How can we improve communications between the school and the home?" Those teachers who volunteered to participate in the PTA meeting planned and prepared for the encounter.

The PTA meeting was held and the teachers were the presenters. Parents offered many comments and suggestions, some of which were implemented the next year. There was a sense of relief and accomplishment by the teachers and principal that the event went as well as it did. Parents now had an idea of what was happening at Crestview and expressed great interest in the idea of empowerment.

The work of the teacher-chronicler became more involved as she provided a focus for the energy being created by the empowerment effort. The teacher-chronicler stated: "If teacher empowerment doesn't come from the teachers themselves, it's not empowerment." During March of the first year in the project, the chronicler was granted a day of professional leave for the purpose of surveying the teachers to find answers to the following questions:

1. What does teacher empowerment mean to you?
2. How do you feel about teacher empowerment?
3. What makes you feel empowered?
4. What makes you feel unempowered?
5. What ideas do you have for increasing teacher empowerment at this school?

Answers to some of the questions follow:

"Empowerment means teachers having more involvement in things that directly affect their jobs, such as textbook selection, scheduling, and decisions about finance."

"Empowerment means looking at the relationships that exist in the building that promote professionalism and a sense of well-being."

"It's teachers feeling comfortable, feeling they have control over their environment, and power over their future."

"Empowerment is a way of learning more about each other as a faculty."

"It's learning about special areas we want to work on. Empowerment is faculty unity."

"It is not a 'quick fix.' "

"It evolves, then becomes permanent."

During the month of March, the staff decided to work on the Intervention Program, which was designed to assist at-risk students. The direction in which the school district was headed was contrary to the direction that the staff felt was productive for the students at Crestview. The district was seriously considering implementing an intervention program that would group students by ability. The faculty worked together and collected educational articles that supported the position of heterogeneous grouping for instruction. The staff prepared a position paper, based on research on ability grouping, that was to be sent to the district meeting. Prior to that meeting, however, the decision to homogeneously group the students was dropped. The Crestview teachers were pleased with their approach to the problem. They had taken action in a responsible fashion to meet the needs of the students. The teachers expressed the belief that, if they truly were an empowered school, then they would know what was best for the students at Crestview. The principal had served in a facilitative role during this period, providing teacher release time to prepare the position paper, meeting with the school facilitator and several teachers to develop a strategy for making a presentation to the district intervention committee, and expressing verbal support for the school philosophy against ability grouping. A faculty member expressed concerns that the principal would ultimately give in to district pressure and weaken their efforts. Later, she was thrilled at the position taken by the principal. She stated that at that point she felt empowered. Consequently, the faculty were becoming more independent and gaining skills that were needed for effective decision making.

The first year ended at Crestview Elementary School with the teachers feeling that they had accomplished much. It is important to note that some of the things that the teachers had been fearful of before committing to the project did not materialize. For example, the superintendent did not veto decisions made at the school. Instead, he was impressed with the position paper prepared by the faculty to address the grouping issue. The teachers began to realize that empowerment was a way to make their environment a better place.

Teachers' attitudes about themselves as professionals, and about teacher empowerment, were important considerations. Positive attitudes were essential to the success of the project. In this area, much progress was made during the first year. As mentioned earlier, there was some reluctance to become involved in an empowerment effort. Reasons for skepticism included concern over the amount of time that participation would require and whether teacher empowerment was really necessary for school improvement to occur. Skepticism was viewed later as a natural and healthy precondition for change.

Teacher attitudes were monitored on both a formal and an informal basis. Teachers were assured by administrators that their feelings, both positive and negative, were legitimate and that open communication about their concerns was essential to the success of the project. In April, a survey was conducted titled, "How Do You Feel About Empowerment? Has Your Attitude Changed?" Teachers were asked to compare their attitudes from the time the empowerment effort first began with their current feelings. Of the 16 responding to the survey, 11 teachers reported that initially their attitude was either negative or they had no opinion, while 5 five responded that their attitude at the beginning of the project was positive. This survey revealed that a significant change had taken place: 3 still had negative opinions while 12 teachers felt either positive or very positive about the project, and 1 had no opinion.

Factors that accounted for this change in attitude included increased awareness of the value of empowerment accomplished through the distribution of articles from the literature, faculty discussions, debate, and reflection concerning empowerment, and increased teacher involvement. Actually, many teachers became actively involved as empowerment leaders. These teachers did persuade others of the value of empowerment. Another factor was an emphasis on voluntary participation in empowerment activities. It was significant that, under those conditions, participation in empowerment sessions was very close to 100% of the faculty. A conscientious effort had been made by the principal, chronicler, lead teacher, and other teachers who were leaders for empowerment to maintain faculty involvement and increase teacher commitment to empowerment and to school improvement. Teacher leaders served to build trust among the faculty.

It was during this time in the project that a fundamental shift occurred in the roles assumed by the principal and the teachers. Teachers saw that they could have an impact on the decisions made at the school, and they became more interested in the entire decision-making process. At the same time, on the recommendation of one of the project facilitators, the principal "backed off" and allowed the teacher leaders and the teacher-chronicler to assume leadership in decision-making activities. The principal did not have to be the one who was always identifying areas for collaborative decision making, with teachers feeling left out of the process. Instead, teachers began to identify areas where the school could be improved and began to take responsibility, by forming committees, for finding solutions to problems. That generated enthusiasm and energy for the staff working together to create a better school for students and staff. The principal said, "It's like more feet running in the same direction."

During the first summer, the principal attended a conference with other project principals and facilitators. These sessions were very important throughout the 3 years of the project. It became clear that all the schools had some degree of difficulty making changes, and these gatherings allowed the participants to learn from each other and to form collegial relationships.

Before the beginning of the second year of the project, the staff held a 1-day retreat at a state park. Of the 26 teachers, 21 attended the meeting without any compensation. The entire faculty planned the agenda and worked with the principal to make the meeting meaningful to the teachers. The retreat focused on whole language instruction. A university consultant, selected by the teachers, worked with them on strategies to use this type of instruction. There was a high degree of satisfaction regarding the retreat according to the responses given by the teachers in a retreat evaluation. They were enthusiastic about what they had learned and were willing to consider a 2-day retreat the next summer. Many faculty commented that they felt more comfortable with each other and were able to communicate concerns and ideas without fear of rejection.

Second Year

The second year of the project began with a great deal of enthusiasm. That feeling was reinforced when several teachers from another school district came to visit Crestview Elementary School. The agenda for the visiting teachers, prepared cooperatively by the principal and teachers, included a discussion of school accomplishments up to that point. According to the Crestview staff, these included the following:

- Improved communication
- Involvement in budget matters
- More effective curriculum design (intervention for at-risk students, whole language instruction)
- Improved decision making
- Responsibility of all school participants for decisions made

Areas needing attention were also discussed with the visitors, including the following:

- Establishing boundaries for decisions
- Misusing the concept of "empowerment to justify inappropriate decisions"
- Structuring an environment supportive of teacher risk taking
- Sustaining a level of motivation for the empowerment process
- Keeping the organization on task with regard to goals and objectives

As time passed, more and more teachers became involved with the empowerment effort. During October of the second year, there were 17 teachers on the Steering Committee for Empowerment. As one teacher on the committee stated: "Empowerment at our school has been like a snowball rolling downhill, picking up speed, gaining strength and enlarging as it moves."

In the fall of the second year, the teachers decided that they wanted to provide duty-free lunch periods for homeroom teachers. They scheduled meetings in which this was a main agenda topic. At one of the meetings, a teacher became upset with the discussion about the homeroom teachers having so much more to do than the special area teachers. This teacher was afraid that the goodwill that had existed before was vanishing with all the talk about everyone not carrying their fair share of the work load. The teachers talked through this and worked out a schedule that did allow homeroom teachers to have some time off during lunch throughout the week. Teachers who did not have a homeroom provided supervision for those teachers with a homeroom. Everyone approved this decision. This frank and open exchange and widely accepted solution were a direct result of the empowered environment evolving throughout Crestview Elementary School.

In November, the Empowerment Committee met and developed a plan for solving problems. The Empowerment Committee established the "Problem-Solving Sequence" shown in Figure 7.1. This sequence was implemented immediately, and it was successfully employed to address a wide variety of faculty concerns.

During December, four staff members went to visit another project school in another state. It was important to the faculty at Crestview to discover that the process of change in their school was similar to the challenges being experienced elsewhere. The teachers had an opportunity to discuss and exchange ideas with the faculty at the other school. These discussions reinforced a sense of collaboration

Unfortunately, during the middle of the second year, the teacher-chronicler had to resign because of personal problems. In a letter to the principal, she stated:

> I do not intend to relinquish my leadership role in empowerment. The success, not just of this project but of this idea, is too important. I have great respect for you as an administrator for your support of teacher empowerment. I am fortunate to work with a principal who understands that by extending power to others, one does not diminish one's

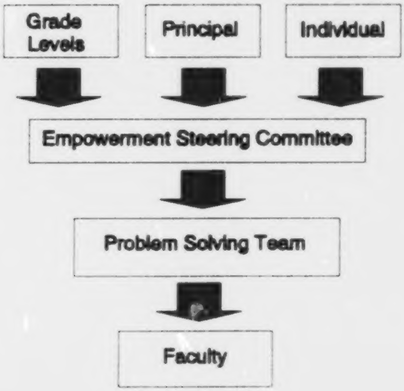

Figure 7.1. Problem-Solving Sequence

> own power, but instead that power is expanded. You serve as a model for other leaders in education.

The chronicler also stated: "We realize that to be professionals, we must establish conditions that allow for professionalism." In addition, the lead teacher in the project was quoted in a regional newspaper on the topic of empowerment: "The lead teacher is kind of like a cheerleader. I work on pulling the staff together and helping them to do problem-solving in a positive and creative manner. They're free to come and talk to me about any problems they're concerned about."

During the spring of the second year in the project, some teachers applied for and received a grant providing the school with technical assistance and stipends for teachers working with a consultant to implement whole language instruction. A retreat was held during the summer, with the superintendent, the two assistant superintendents, and the special education director in attendance, and, again, the majority of the staff attended the retreat. As a result of the feedback from the year before, this retreat was held for 2 days, with the option of staying overnight at the state park. The presenter for the second day was one of the third-grade teachers from Crestview. Teachers were pleased that their own expertise was being recognized.

Third Year

In the third year, many plans were implemented. There were visits from other schools in the Danforth project. In one of these exchanges, the assistant superintendent talked about empowerment and the effects that had been seen at Crestview Elementary School. During subsequent discussions, the faculty agreed that the climate had changed throughout the 3 years of the staff's involvement with the Danforth project. Faculty identified a growing sense of authentic involvement in decisions as a critical factor in the change in climate. The problem-solving sequence has produced better solutions and helped teachers grow into better problem solvers. The principal admits, "The faculty identified scheduling as a problem. We took it to the problem-solving team and they came up with a better schedule than I could have done." This created a sense of problem ownership so critical to teacher involvement in the entire decision-making process.

Many of the changes realized by the third year stemmed from the problem-solving abilities developed during the project. For example, a major issue that arose during year 3 was teacher concern about student discipline. These concerns were funneled to the Empowerment Committee and, subsequently, to the problem-solving team. The team met over a 6-week period to discuss discipline problems and possible strategies to reduce student behavior problems, gather input from the entire faculty, and develop a proposal for a modified Assertive Discipline program to be adopted by the faculty. The problem-solving team made a presentation at a faculty meeting and discussion followed. The faculty decided to adopt the program, and a committee was formed to conduct a staff development training session to prepare the faculty to implement the plan. The program was implemented and early assessment of the impact was most positive.

As a result, teachers expressed the need to focus on more issues of concern and ask the problem-solving team to develop possible ideas for addressing the various concerns of the faculty. Therefore the faculty identified scheduling problems, especially the need for some release time for teams of teachers to plan together. The problem-solving team asked for volunteers to work on a new schedule and, within 3 weeks, two proposed schedules were presented to the faculty. Concerns expressed over one plan led to the adoption of the alternate schedule plan.

During the third year, many changes occurred in the instructional program at Crestview. Many of the changes emanated from teacher identification of significant issues and concerns about meeting the needs of students at the school. Instead of complaining about those concerns, the faculty shifted toward bringing ideas for solutions to those problems to the Empowerment Committee.

This represented a radical change from the manner in which teachers addressed concerns early in the project. It appeared that involvement in the decision process created more of a sense of problem ownership on the part of the Crestview faculty. For example, teachers implemented the portfolio assessment process. They had experimented with the concept through a project minigrant the previous year and found strategies that made portfolios useful to them. In particular, they discovered that, though individual videos prepared for portfolios were expensive, parents were eager to contribute blank videos at the beginning of the year to be used in the yearlong videotaping of children for individual portfolios. Faculty saw videos as valuable in documenting students who exhibited some of the characteristics of an empowered child: responsibility, creativity, and group leadership.

In addition, faculty sought an increased emphasis on whole language instruction with the strategy being adopted by additional grade levels. Finally, the multiage team adopted cooperative learning strategies with great success.

In the spring of the third year, the faculty and students made a video about the school and their attempts to empower teachers and students. The faculty presented the video at a school board meeting. According to the principal of this school,

> The most significant impact made throughout the empowerment effort was the manner in which teachers worked

together to provide a better place for students to learn. The staff learned that decision making was an investment in providing a climate for improving the work place for not only them but for their students.

Theme Analysis

The restructuring efforts at Crestview Elementary School also can be viewed through four themes that evolved during the 3 years of the change effort.

Framing

The manner in which the faculty and administrators at Crestview framed their participation in the effort changed as faculty developed greater acceptance and understanding of empowerment. Early, the faculty framed the effort as a "project to do." Therein lay much of the concern about initial involvement. Faculty believed that the empowerment project was just another assignment requiring time that they did not have available. In addition, the teachers perceived no immediate payoff for participating. As the empowerment effort evolved over the 3 years, however, and teachers realized that they could structure the definition of and process for empowerment, they identified ways that the effort should be tied to school improvement that were already under way.

The faculty shifted their focus on empowering teachers to the empowerment of students by the second year. As the effort progressed throughout the second year, the teachers moved more quickly to develop concrete plans to empower students. Examples of these early efforts included cross-grade grouping for instruction, whole language instruction with student initiatives, and student assessment using portfolios and videos. Through intense interaction among all nine schools at periodic meetings and in newsletters, telephone calls, and sharing among the facilitators, it appeared that Crestview faculty learned to reframe their involvement as an "opportunity."

Process and Content

In observing the empowerment process over the 3 years, it was evident that empowerment of schools involves process and content. The need for content was evident early in the first year. Crestview faculty moved more slowly than some of the schools in initiating shared decision making because the faculty needed to build greater faculty consensus about the definition of empowerment. Though they initially may have framed empowerment as a power struggle with administration, the faculty grew to view empowerment as increased opportunities to experiment with the school structure, teacher work design, and instructional processes.

Process was a critical issue affecting the school's ability to plan effectively for new decision-making configurations, to develop collaborative teams for identifying issues and concerns to address in problem-solving sessions, and to identify areas in which faculty and students could exercise greater autonomy and responsibility. Crestview Elementary School faculty struggled with the process. It is important to note that the project was not implemented with a specific empowerment model in mind. It was the assumption of the project directors that change would be more substantive and longer lasting if schools structured their own empowerment change process. It was expected that each of the staffs would structure that process in ways unique to each school.

After the struggle with defining empowerment, the school moved rapidly to create a process for restructuring. The Empowerment Committee, with specific goals, objectives, and timelines, was developed to coordinate the involvement of faculty. Later, a Problem-Solving Committee was formed to address concerns of individual faculty. The school facilitator served as a problem framer for much of the project. She consulted with the principal and teachers on various issues surrounding the empowerment process and specific problems of student empowerment.

Communication

Due to the formation of collaborative committees and other groups for the purposes of problem solving and planning in new decision areas, communication patterns changed and became more complex. The school faculty at Crestview voluntarily met for 5 weeks in the evenings to discuss empowerment and to agree on a form and content for their empowerment efforts. In each of the meetings, discussions were plagued by misunderstandings and miscommunications. Actually, these frank discussions led to the realization that many teachers and administrators lacked good communication skills. In empowered schools, the direction of communication becomes more complex, changing from top down to interactive patterns across and among groups and teams in which the administration and teachers are equal members.

Trust

Initially, teachers at Crestview Elementary School did not trust the district office or school board to allow them to participate in significant decisions. One teacher said, "I just know that the board will overrule any decision that we make about teacher allotment or anything else really." Another teacher asked, "How can you assure us that when we make a decision, we won't be told that we can't do that by the central office or board?" Because trust between the board and teachers was low at the beginning of the project, early faculty discussions about the definition of empowerment centered on the school board and its control over teachers. By the third year, however, the empowerment process within the individual school mitigated negative feelings about local boards.

Another situation centering on trust development was the principal-teacher relationship. Many of the teachers saw trust in this relationship revolving around the opportunity to disagree without fear of reprisal. The opportunities for choice and autonomy were directly tied to teacher-principal perceptions of trust. As one teacher stated, "I want to know that he appreciates the fact that I am a good teacher and can make good decisions." For the principal of Crestview Elementary School, trust centered on teachers' abilities to handle the responsibilities of decision making and choice. The principal said, "What am I to do if these empowered teachers make bad decisions!" This was a real concern to him. He stated further: "How am I to respond if the teachers make a decision that is not in the best interest of kids?" He also stated: "How do I respond to parents who are upset about a decision made by the steering committee?" As the process of empowerment began, there arose many opportunities to demonstrate responsibility and competence in decision making. This facilitated a growing trust between the principal and teachers. A critical shift in the trust relationship occurred, however, when the principal pulled back from the process and teacher leadership evolved.

Summary

Fundamental changes have occurred in roles and responsibilities among school participants at Crestview Elementary School. Teachers now take responsibility for identifying and solving problems, for assuring that quality learning occurs, and for identifying strategies to increase the chances for students to develop into lifelong learners. The entire school is a team, unified by its focus on empowerment and the school's need to continue a renewal process. At Crestview, creating a better school is now everyone's responsibility. Everyone has embraced that responsibility through empowerment.

References

Bogdan, R., & Biklin, S. (1982). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Chubb, J., & Moe, T. (1990). *Politics, markets, and America's schools.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institute.

Cuban, L. (1990). Reforming again, again, and again. *Educational Researcher, 19*(1), 3-13.

Hackman, J. R., & Oldham, G. R. (1980). *Work redesign.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Jenkins, K. (1988). Metaphor and mindset for educational leadership. *The Educational Forum, 52*(2), 143-151.

Lawler, E. E., III. (1986). *High-involvement management: Participative strategies for improving organizational performance.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lieberman, A., & Miller, L. (1984). *Teachers, their world and their work: Implications for school improvement.* Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Lightfoot, S. L. (1986). On goodness in schools: Themes of empowerment. *Peabody Journal of Education, 63*(3), 9-28.

Maeroff, G. I. (1988). A blueprint for empowering teachers. *Phi Delta Kappan, 69*(71), 472-477.

Manz, C. C., & Sims, H. P., Jr. (1984). Searching for the "unleader": Organizational member views on leading self-managed groups. *Human Relations, 37,* 409-424.

Manz, C. C., & Sims, H. P., Jr. (1987). Leading workers to lead themselves: The external leadership of self-managing work teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 32,* 106-128.

Miles, M., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). *Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative research methods.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Short, P. M., & Greer, J. T. (1989, April). *Increasing teacher autonomy through shared governance: Effects on policy making and student outcomes.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Zielinski, A. E., & Hoy, W. L. (1983). Isolation and alienation in elementary schools. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 19*(2), 27-45.

8

Restructuring Systemically for Students

Can It Be More Than Just Talk?

JACI WEBB
H. DICKSON CORBETT
BRUCE L. WILSON

Restructuring, ideally, alters the patterns of rules, roles, relationships, and results in and around schools so that they will be consistent with what people believe should happen with students. While beliefs about the components of student success certainly vary, a theme common to many reform proposals includes a vision of all students becoming active, responsible, lifelong learners. For such ambitions really to have a chance of expanding the focus on student results beyond traditional measures of content acquisition (see McDonnell, 1989, for a concise categorization of these initiatives), all levels of the educational system from the statehouse to the classroom have to be implicated to avoid organizational contradictions that

---

AUTHORS' NOTE: The preparation of this chapter was supported by funds from the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI). The opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect the position of OERI, and no official endorsement should be inferred.

can quickly negate the intended effects (Smith & O'Day, 1990). Otherwise, the political haze produced by existing tiers of regulatory responsibility will blur the focus on students.

An admonition for systemic reform is easy to make, but its commonsense appeal should not mask the considerable complexities entailed in expecting significant reform within and across a state system's levels. In this chapter, we highlight some of the subtle, and not so subtle, difficulties embedded in large-scale restructuring. We argue that participants from various levels and from different role groups view the restructuring process through different interpretive frames. And, without extensive conversations about students within and across these levels and groups, these frames will act as filters that mediate the ultimate effects of adult behavior changes on students.

The six sections that follow—one each for state-level officials, state support team members, principals, teachers, parents, and students—are based on a multiyear study of a restructuring initiative in which state and local educators are trying to find new ways of working together. Specifically, the School Restructuring Project (SRP—a pseudonym), which grew out of the recommendations of a state task force, calls for

> interagency coordination, interdisciplinary teaming, shared decision making, and flexible scheduling at the local level;
>
> substantial state department support in the form of special funding and intensive technical assistance to schools (in the form of support teams—ST—composed of state employees assigned to each school);
>
> and a significant broadening of the focus on student outcomes, which include students becoming intellectually reflective, en route to a lifetime of meaningful work and being good citizens, caring, ethical, and healthy.

Each section of this chapter begins with a data display that represents a perspective on restructuring typical of those we heard expressed by members of that role group. We created the displays from (a) open-ended, semistructured interviews with all key actors at the state level, including members of the support teams and their superordinates, several central office staff members, some community members, administrators and faculty members in the four participating schools, and students from the four schools; (b) observations of state and local meetings, significant school events, and daily classroom life; and (c) document analysis of official reports, minutes, memos, and plans. Although the displays themselves are literary devices, the words in them are actually those used by various study participants. Each display is then followed by a brief commentary on the nature of the interpretative frames used by role group members.

The purpose of using such displays is to draw attention to how people in different role situations may view the restructuring process differently and how ideas about student success can become altered or shoved aside as a consequence. There is no intention here to cast a negative pall on the study sites themselves. It is much too early to make such an evaluation; restructuring is long term, and anyone would be remiss in passing judgment on the overall effectiveness of a setting's efforts after only a couple of years' work. In fact, the participants in our study have proven themselves to be enthusiastic and serious-minded reformers. This, we feel, makes our concern about the potential debilitating effects of unexamined interpretative frames on students more pertinent: They can come into play even where people seem to be going about the systemic restructuring business in the right way.

State-Level Official

The following is a speech given by a state department administrator (March 10, 1992):

> I am pleased to be here with you today, and to have this opportunity to share with you what we are doing with SRP in our state. Our project is really a two-pronged focus. One level is student achievement, and the other is the delivery of integrated student services. Our ongoing ef-

forts in this state in these two areas dovetail nicely with the task force recommendations.

Our position as a state is very unique. One, because of our size, we can really coordinate things and communicate easily. The other thing is that our state really was the leader in these areas. In 1987-1989 we had already begun working toward establishing our own recommendations and had been holding regional conferences where the schools listened to them and were encouraged to go back to their schools and try and implement them. So, when the first phase of SRP [began] we were challenged with trying to work with districts and schools and ask them would they identify some schools that had perhaps already started with those recommendations?

A challenge of the project was to say not only were there schools interested in structured improvement and basic requirements, but we wanted some bold leaders. We wanted some people who are risk takers, who are willing to take and implement services in serving children and families in a community school. And the results are the fact that we have [the] principals who are representing their school improvement teams here today. They have worked under a structure at the school level that really touches this organization for school-based reform. Also, remember that we have an initiative going around the state related to assessment and accountability for student results that the rest of the nation is watching.

Another unique feature of our project is the project structure itself. We as a state have created a communication vehicle by our teaming structure that is built around the structure of the school level and identified needs about what they have to have in order to support their efforts. We at the state department and those at central offices are working across units for the first time on a project that approaches these two goals for student achievement and integrated services. So when you talk about comprehensive

> school improvement reform, this state is truly aware of that. The unique part about this is that we have created a council that enlists all the policymakers, across the state parameters. I would like for the council members to stand and be identified. Many are here today and I think you need to recognize that we have today a unique event because schools are talking to policymakers, and they are saying how we effect policy and change based on reality.

The mediating factor for state-level participants, by virtue of their position in a hierarchical bureaucratic organization, is political. These actors interpret the statements initiated at the national level, or in statehouses, and listen to the messages through a political filter before passing them on to other participants in the educational policy system. For example, the state's task force report clearly places a great deal of emphasis on moral development, including being "a good citizen" and "a caring and ethical individual" as two of the defining characteristics of a successful student. Yet the state bills the effort as a "two-pronged focus," aimed at student achievement and delivery of integrated student services. The moral dimension has been filtered out. (A similar action recently occurred in a more overt way in Pennsylvania, where "affective" goals—such as ethical judgment, self-worth, collaborative learning—originally included as part of the state's proposed outcomes-based education initiative were dropped from the final list of outcomes.)

Political mediation then takes its toll in that the ongoing efforts of the state are not open to question. They are just ongoing, with the initiative to restructure systemically becoming an add-on. Fundamental restructuring is unlikely to occur if sacred cows remain sacred. In attempting to take advantage of the increased resources of funding and visibility, the state places itself in the position of making compromising decisions about which agenda to attend to: the premises of the task force report or any/all of the state's existing policy initiatives.

Support Team Member

Memoranda

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Judy
TO: Tyler School Support Team Members
RE: Thoughts on the Process, November 15, 1990

Everybody, and I do mean everybody, has an agenda! After our initial meetings with the folks at Tyler and the central office, just what those agendas look like is starting to come into focus. The school saw the opportunity for additional funding support to carry out their school improvement plan—they've made that very clear—although they did buy into the notion of the need for integrated services. The assistant superintendent saw this project as an opportunity to take an integrated services model to the superintendent and show him how other things could be handled. And, I don't think I was the only one who came away from our last meeting with the clear impression that our principal's primary idea was to do staff development with the money. I think part of the district's agenda in making this a site for the project was to bump and run the principal into a collaborative process.

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Judy
TO: Tyler School Support Team Members
RE: Thoughts on the Process, May 23, 1991

Well, folks, I don't know about you but I don't think what we are doing here is restructuring. It might be if we had more time; but as it is, it's school improvement. With the integration of student services, for example, the different agencies don't even know who has what cases.

A positive note about the process so far, though, is that the team is much more assertive now. They have truly begun to make decisions while honoring the role of the principal as instructional leader. We don't have to worry about empowering them now. Their leadership is pulling from all over the place. Of course, now they're scared about the faculty's reactions to what they have planned—and they should be.

A not so positive note is that even though we're making plans for next year, we haven't been told if we will be working on it. You know how these little surprises occur. We've all devoted a lot of time to this. We've all done much after hours, and I don't think the projects can exist without a facilitator. Our job is to know where we're going and try to get them to think it's their idea. That is made easier because they depend on us for the data. Regardless, for this to continue and to expand the process to other schools, it's obvious that we can't have even one state department person on each team.

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Judy
TO: Tyler ST Members
RE: Thoughts on the Process, July 16, 1991

We may have a problem brewing, and I need some feedback on how we want to handle it. Some decisions about the project have been made at meetings when we weren't there, but they were presented as "we." Looking at the updates and memos, I never can tell who was running the meetings or who was making the decisions. This relates to another problem we're starting to have: If an ST member is going to be working with a school, all decisions should go through them. Our credibility is destroyed instantly when decisions don't go through us, and we've had several instances where decisions have been made over the phone, and we've been left out. If we are going to operate in a supportive role at the school, personal power makes the difference.

Thinking about support and our role, I don't feel like we're being tapped as a resource. While we've done a lot of facilitating in terms of working with their data, they aren't asking us for anything else. Maybe that will change as they start to decide what they need in terms of staff development. I know they aren't anxious to do much and there is a sense that we know how to do everything, but maybe then they'll start to utilize us. I do think they're beginning to realize what this is all about. It's starting to dawn on them that it's more than they thought it was; initially I think they thought they would get some materials and that would be it. It just takes time.

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Judy
TO: Fellow ST Members
RE: Continuing Thoughts on the Process, September 25, 1991

I'm still not sure that the school improvement team knows their purpose in all this. Their focus is still on improving themselves. They don't see the bigger policy effort. However, our relationship with them really caught on as time progressed. I think they would agree that we've preserved the integrity of the school's effort. Of course, I think our facilitating with the data, just having the data, helped relieve their defensiveness. Their relationship with the principal has changed too, although it took a whole year to convince him that the team is a team. I know personally I've changed too, I've always been an empathetic listener, but now I'm using that to help direct people to say what they want to and then to help them discover what it is they want to do.

In this particular policy initiative, the ST members are the people who span the communication borders between two very different organizations. Overall, they are in a position to look both up and down to see to what extent systemic change is really taking place. Occasionally, this position leads to a cynical view of events, because people can compare the rhetoric with the reality—at both levels—and develop a pretty accurate estimate of the discrepancy between the two.

On a day-to-day basis, they are in a position to see where potential roadblocks to the process may arise. They can make knowledgeable guesses about how a state official will respond to actions taken at the school level before the school people will encounter that response, and they know the reactions of school people to certain state decisions before the school people can communicate their feelings. As a consequence, the ST members tend to look at the restructuring process from a maintenance perspective. This means that they interpret actions in terms of how disruptive or facilitative the actions will be to the process and devote much of their time to "what can be done to keep this thing going."

Of interest, ST members' boundary spanning status puts them in the position of being marginal to discussions about restructuring. They are outside the policymaking loop at the state level and not privy to the backstage discussions at the school level. So, while they know the consequences of these deliberations early on, they do not have the "personal power," as Judy put it, to use their special, situational knowledge to influence them regularly. This puts them in a continually reactive, as opposed to proactive, mode. Thus ST members frequently act as "cultural go-betweens," translating conversations at one level to those at another. They let the schools know "what the state really wants," and they let the state know what "what the school really wants." Unfortunately, with respect to systemic restructuring, they are not in a position to ensure the appropriate resultant policy changes.

And, in the process, they act as mediators. Aspects of the process that they interpret as trivial to immediate concerns receive less emphasis; aspects that they consider central to keeping the process going obviously receive more attention. Consequently, what really matters in the reform effort becomes redefined. Indeed, one of the barriers to systemic change may be the assignment of only state-level persons to the STs. Participants at the local level should also be in a position to speak for themselves, telling the state what they need to support their efforts. Their beliefs about what the state-level participants are capable of may limit their participation—they may be inclined to buy into a notion of "that's just the way it is" too readily to really communicate the need for changes from the school level.

As with the other nonschool people, the ST members are essentially remote from students' lives. The ST concerns remain firmly with adult actions and their consequences for the discourse in which the adults engage.

Principal

Journal Entries From a Principal

Principal's Training Institute, LD101, November 9, 1990:

I can't figure out just what it is the state wants. Our goals for the school are separate from the project, but I guess I really shouldn't look a gift horse in the mouth. After all, all we had to do was take a survey, use the results to assess some of our weaknesses, and we would be given money to help address the ones we want to work on. This shouldn't get in the way of what we're already doing, yet I worry that it will just mean taking on more work, on top of the changes we've already started putting in place, with our grouping and scheduling.

Journal Entry, LD201, September 17, 1991:

Ownership is the key. If the staff doesn't have grassroots ownership of this then it won't succeed. Keeping 100 people committed and motivated is a heavy responsibility. If we don't have everybody on board our two major initiatives, interdisciplinary teaming and the student advisory teams, won't make it. I really had some concerns about doing both of them, but the staff pushed. If I had to do it over again, I would have waited on the advisory teams and concentrated just on the teaming. It's also important to have a better sense of belonging amongst the parents. We've invited them in to see the changes, we're publishing a parent newsletter, and we're encouraging more parents to volunteer in the school. I really think this is working.

Journal Entry, LD201, October 11, 1991:
People look to me to keep things going, but it's hard. School improvement is a process, but some of the faculty can't see it all coming together. We need more leadership training, for them and for me. Planning for SRP is the same process as our district plan but it involves more money and more people. And that means more communications and more work, and our people are exhausted already. It's required me to really change, to learn to sit back and let others—no, encourage others—to make decisions the principal just always used to make, about things I was used to making the decisions about. My role is really changing and my leadership style has to change too. And it's not just me, the teachers are having to change too. Just like I don't like giving up my control sometimes, they don't like accepting the responsibility sometimes.

Journal Entry, LD301, February 27, 1992:
God, am I ticked off today. They say, the state says, tell us what you need. They send us this ST and tell us they know they need to restructure to support what we're doing; and then when they get ready to organize a conference for our teachers, they don't even listen to us about when it would be convenient for us to attend. They schedule it for the worst possible time, just because more of the policy council members will be able to attend then. It really gripes me, I'm tempted not to even attend—and what's more, not to encourage my teachers to attend either. I think I'll mention something about it to Bruce when he's here next week and see if RBS can drop a word in the right ears.

Journal Entry, LD301, March 11, 1992:
I'm beginning to feel like I spend more time out talking about what we're doing at the school than I spend actually in the school. And even when I'm in the school, I have visitors

> to attend to. Yesterday for example, I spent the morning at a state department function giving an overview of everything we're doing for an audience of policymakers and bigwigs, went to a luncheon with a possible sponsor for one of our programs, and then spent the afternoon with an associate superintendent visiting classrooms to see our interdisciplinary teaming. It's great being able to tap resources for the school, but it sure is time-consuming doing all this PR.

Principals have always been gatekeepers to a certain extent. In this reform effort, this role becomes even more visible. While ST members operate as cultural translators, principals operate as formal and informal conduits for communications and for access to resources. Their interpretative frame is parochial in that, when they make decisions about participation or access, they look for the advantage to their school, and their position in the system, rather than for the benefit to the larger policy system. These principals eschewed the connection with both the bigger picture of systemic restructuring and with the vision of this particular initiative. For example, from their perspective, going through the ST to obtain resources or waivers from policy restrictions is not part of a process of moving toward systemic change but a means of getting what they believe they need for their schools. This is also an example of why it is just as important to listen to what is not in their conversations—a discussion of the integral role of the ST as a connection to the state policy arena—as it is to listen to what is represented in their conversations.

These principals clearly interpreted this initiative as an add-on, further filtering the vision set forth by the task force report. The broad goals and focus of the report are translated into a concern with strategies, such as interdisciplinary teaming and student advisory teams, and the connection between vision and action becomes taken for granted. This creates a situation where not only are the larger reasons for taking actions not explicit, the specific focus on the experience of students is also muffled.

Principals stand outside the doors of the offices of policymakers, outside the classroom doors behind which are teachers and students, and they often do not have the political capital to connect the two. While they operate as key representatives for their schools and their schools' efforts, they have a limited range of influence and access further up the system. In their schools, they continue to control decisions about what happens around instruction—even if the decision is to give the responsibility for decisions to teachers—and to stand on the periphery of what happens when teachers close their classroom doors. This does not mean that principals are powerless, or that they are unable to take advantage of this opportunity to make connections among vision, action, and policy, but that they do not interpret this initiative as such an opportunity.

Teacher

Entries From the Diaries of Two Teachers

March 10, 1991:

"All I hope is that we never repeat a year all over again. If we just do what we did in the previous semester, then we become a stagnant school. The ideas that we didn't come up with first semester, we ought to try in the second one and see what makes a difference . . . does it have an effect on kids? Do I see kids who come back and say: 'Why did we stop that? That was fun!' "

March 10, 1991:

"There are so many things thrown out at this school, the proposed scheduling changes, etc. You never know if something works or not. It just pops up. There's never any preparation for it. I would be reluctant to say if something was working or not because there are always so many things going on."

May 23, 1991:	*May 23, 1991:*
"The principal says things in such a way that you know you have to do it but he says it in such a way that you also know that it doesn't have to be perfect or even done right away. But over time we all end up doing it . . . but no one is burned out. There is a willingness to experiment . . . sometimes because they have to."	"You can say 'I see flaws' in a plan when it's presented, but they say we're gonna do it anyway."
September 16, 1991:	*September 16, 1991:*
"Change is scary. There are two kinds of teachers. There are classroom teachers who like structure and others like me who don't mind doing things differently. I'm more impulsive."	"I feel my students are not getting the information they need because of so many schedules being used. The child that cannot deal with all of these abrupt changes . . . they're frustrated. Especially early teens, it's better for them to have some kind of anchor. I know that in the midst of change there has to be a lot of movement, but students can't handle it, and I don't have the stamina."

September 26, 1991:	*September 26, 1991:*
"I want to see the kids put in charge of their learning instead of being receptacles. They should be doing more of the pulling out. The teacher is there only as a backup. Part of our learning is to find out how much kids can really do. Now kids in the lower levels don't do as well in this kind of setting, but only because it's not the kind of curriculum they usually encounter. If you're only one of two teachers exposing them to these opportunities, the result is poor. But I wouldn't give up."	"I cannot explain what I do in the classroom now. I just get through the day . . . all for the sake of change. They're just putting a child right back with the frustration of sitting next to a gifted student instead of in a setting where the child can succeed best."
December 10, 1991:	*December 10, 1991:*
"I love my team. Our kids are especially happy. There is lots of camaraderie and more trust I think now . . . in terms of trust of ideas."	"I'm very disappointed with teaching. I feel like I have ruined my whole life. I was brought up when girls were secretaries, nurses, and teachers. I wish now that I had been more aggressive and tried something else."

For teachers, reform measures can facilitate trying out new ideas or disrupt well-seasoned and comfortable practices, provide professional growth opportunities or impose tedious regulations, engender exhilarating exchanges or instigate endless and enervating meetings, liberate or hopelessly constrain. Most often, reform's effects are somewhere in between. Teachers are neither the uniformly conservative, "keep things the way I was taught" obstacle to change that many policymakers identify nor are they the overwhelmingly eager to change for the sake of changing agitators about which the public frequently complains. Quite simply, it is naive and dangerously misleading to speak of "what teachers think" as if there is one voice to capture. Some of them will almost always resist, some of them will almost always jump at the chance to change, and some of them will cautiously explore new ideas before deciding what to do. None of the responses is by definition more productive or destructive; but all of the responses are unavoidably essential to understanding how reform ultimately affects classrooms.

No matter how obviously beneficial a particular reform might appear, its introduction into schools will become part of a long history of innovative success and failure in that setting. Automatically, then, the effort will be painted in the tones that have become associated with the previous ventures. An "all right!" or an "oh no!" response, then, is as much the cumulative consequence of what has gone on before as it is a specific prediction of what lies ahead. In other words, reform will be interpreted within a cultural frame. Research shows that these culturally based interpretations cannot be overwhelmed with political bludgeons; rather, they will occasionally but repeatedly reappear and, in the process, reshape and redefine whatever activity is under way (Rossman, Corbett, & Firestone, 1988; Sarason, 1982).

How flexible scheduling, heterogenous grouping, and the like eventually affect students depends in large part on the lenses teachers use to view those changes and how teachers translate the ideas into classroom practice. In the instance above, both teachers were responding to the same stimulus with respect to rules governing how time is arranged and where students would be placed, but they no doubt approached implementation with very different beliefs about the efficacy of the changes with respect to their roles as teachers and the kinds of relationships they should have with students. It is not hard to imagine, then, the difference in practice that ensued, with one teacher eagerly anticipating positive results and the other apologizing for the harmful atmosphere to which less successful students were being subjected. The issue is not whether something related to the reforms will be implemented; both of the above teachers accommodated the rule changes. The issue is what form the changes actually take in the classroom and what their differential impacts on classroom roles and relationships are. Restructuring simply cannot be understood without knowing the mix of beliefs and values into which initiatives are being inserted.

Yet teachers for the most part are marginal participants in overall discussions about restructuring. To include a teacher on a committee, or even a representative from each grade level on a governing council, is not to include teachers. Moreover, while some teachers are becoming empowered to rearrange the way things are in their particular settings, they are not empowered to rearrange the way things are at other levels of the system, even though events at those levels directly affect the school, and people at those other levels are empowered to tamper with the school settings. Thus some teachers' voices are heard at some times, but those voices do not necessarily represent teachers as a group, nor do they carry a weight equal to other voices in the system.

This circumstance is, of course, curious because teachers are the key figures in whether restructuring actually makes a difference for kids. They are the ones who determine whether a school reforms in a perfunctory, superficial manner or in a creative, truly "new way of doing business" manner. They determine whether the classroom is old wine in a new skin or an altogether different concoction.

Parent

Personal Correspondence

March 23, 1991

Dear Mom,

. . . Alyssa is finally getting better about remembering to give me things from school. She gave me a memo from last week about a PTO meeting to discuss problems with discipline on the busses. I certainly hope her bus isn't one of the ones with problems. There are some awfully big boys and girls that ride with her. The meeting is also going to be about her school getting ready to do something to its structure. They just built that new gym and a computer center so I don't know how they'll afford to do it. There was also a reminder about writing to the politicians in the statehouse telling them not to cut funds for education. I'll probably have to bake cookies and cakes for a sale and buy magazines I don't want . . .

May 10, 1991

Dear Mom,

You know how you always used to tell me, "Fool's names and fool's faces always appear in public places"? Well, guess who has been asked to sit on the Steering Committee at school as a result of having attended all those PTO meetings? I really don't know why they picked me unless it's because I'll have two students at the school next year when Kent starts 6th grade. I really haven't had much parental involvement; I've been a backseat observer . . .

June 27, 1991

Dear Mom,

I really feel bad that I won't be able to attend the summer workshops with the rest of the Transition Committee, after all I am the co-chair. I guess I'll send in feedback before we leave on vacation, and I'm sure I'll do a lot in the fall helping with orientation. At least I got to stay in town long enough to help with the July meeting with the new parents. The principal seems to think having me give a speech about the school really made a difference. When I first got involved in all this as a member of the Steering Committee I took a backseat and then over time I became accepted as a member of the committee. I expected that would carry over to the subcommittees, in fact I expected more acceptance on the subcommittee, and instead I had to rebuild. I guess they're teachers and professionals and I'm just a parent. You know, I've been intimidated as a parent, I didn't want to overstep my bounds. It's funny but with parent perceptions—all those surveys and people who worked with that—being a big concern, I'm the only one on the subcommittee. I'm sort of left on my own.

September 12, 1991

Dear Mom,

Last week is one I wouldn't want to live through again in a hurry! Orientation went really well but it was hectic. I talked to some of the parents of kids on Alyssa's soccer team and they said they had been anxious about their kids going to school—this one in particular with all the discipline problems—but that after orientation and Back to School they were impressed with the teachers and the programs. I am really impressed with our ST person, you remember I told you about Bob. I met with him over all the confusion we had in our committee about who would do what and so forth and he was very supportive. He has helped guide us, basically he helped us get back on track. He said he's looking for other schools for us to talk to about parental involvement. He is doing the legwork for us and he will provide a state department person to talk to us too. Something he has been really helpful with is being good about telling us where to slow down. Being a parent, I am reluctant to give criticism. I feel comfortable talking to him, and then he takes it to the principal or whoever needs to address it. They're the specialists, I can express myself to them.

March 11, 1992

Dear Mom,

Remember when you tried to get me to join the debate team in high school? Well, mother always knows best, I guess. I was really nervous speaking before that group from the state department about what we've been doing at school. I kept hoping I wouldn't have to say much, but the principal really wanted a parent to talk and since I'm the only parent on the committee it had to be me. At least they didn't expect me to describe the whole project, I just talked about the orientation and back to school activities. John said what I should have

> done was talked about how I listen to the kids and try to figure out what they think is positive about what we're doing. It is interesting hearing over breakfast, "hope we have advisory today." Having children in 6th and 7th grades and both of them like going to this school says a lot to me as a parent.

Parental involvement is a prominent feature in recommendations for restructuring. Increasingly, in their focus on economic and social ills, reformers are looking for ways to link schools and communities, to connect the experience of students to their lives outside of school in meaningful ways, and to gain the commitment to the efforts of schools of as many of the constituents as possible that touch those lives. Parental involvement on planning committees can be a pat answer to the question of how to accomplish those goals. Due to their individually powerless position in policymaking, parents are often asked to contribute to change efforts as a legitimating symbol. While collectively, by lobbying or taking other political action, parents can affect the policy system, individually, they carry little weight in conversations about change. As one parent shared, "I guess they're teachers and professionals and I'm just a parent." Token parental involvement puts parents in a superficial role. Further, nonrepresentative parental involvement leads to the promotion of personalistic values rather than to a broader representation of community cultural values. This personalistic filtering can become a barrier to considering the experience of all students. Superficial involvement wastes an opportunity to integrate actors with direct connections to students, outside school, into the process of relating the experience of school to results for all students. Parents' participation is mediated by the value of activities for their children. Their interpretive frame is personal rather than broadly focused on all students.

Including only those parents who are already involved in some fashion—with existing parent groups or as school volunteers—in planning reforms does not change the nature or the tone of those communications in a substantive and lasting way. In many cases, it is exactly those parents who are not visible in the school whose interests may best inform change, that is, those parents who themselves are disenfranchised and whose children are not being served by the system. Drawing these traditionally voiceless actors into conversations about restructuring would make parental involvement legitimate rather than legitimating.

Students

Transcript Interview With Four Students (March 25, 1992)

Researcher: First, would you just take me through your schedule?

Student 1: I go to my locker and then I go to 1st period, which is science. After that we have five minutes to change classes . . . all of them are an hour, I think. Then second period—math. Then PE and unified arts. We used to go to band one day a week and art another day, but the art teacher said we had too much time to spend just in art, so now we go to band for a little while and then art for a little while two days a week. Then lunch, I think that's a half hour. Then third period—English; and then fourth period—social studies.

S2: Mine's the same except I have geography second period and math fourth period.

R: Well, tell me about what goes on in your classes. What kinds of things do you do?

S3: We do drills in social studies and have questions on things we already went over. And in English we'll usually go over things. The only writing we do is every now and then we get a grammar book.

S4: In English, we do things like comprehension.

S1: Today we reviewed the facts that are going to be on our science test tomorrow . . . we took a practice test and went over the answers.

S2: Most of the time she talks to us and explains things.

R: Do you ever work in groups with other students?

S1: In science, we usually are in teams. In math, usually once in a while for fun things.

S2: Yeah, like the teacher gives out worksheets and then people get in their team seats. You work with the team but everyone does their own page and then call off answers and check with partners.

S4: Yeah, we like discuss things, once in a while.

R: What's your opinion about working in teams?

S2: We do better work by ourselves. Sometimes your grade is based on what other people do. Like in one game we play. If someone on the team gives an answer, then that's your team's answer. You may know the right answer, but you have to write down the wrong answer if it's not your turn to answer for your team.

S1: It's good—for some people that know how to work in groups and not chat with friends. I didn't know one of the people in the team, but she knew what adverbs were about and she taught us. So we have a chance to teach each other things. Plus, one kid says he's dumb but others say he isn't and try to cheer him up.

S3: I know one boy who a lot of people think is dumb but he's not because he could add up a lot of numbers in a science experiment.

R: Do all of the students in your team do the same kinds of things in the classroom?

S1: For three periods, the math teacher like teaches one thing, but for fourth period the teacher has different goals up on the board. We're pre-algebra but they're doing different stuff.

S2: In fourth period math we're studying fractions. Generally though kids are all mixed up, but if someone is a little better in math, then they'll go to math at a different period than fourth period. There's only one person in fourth math that I'm with the whole day.

S1: Maybe if we had special teachers—if some people were more delinquent—to work with them, and teachers to work with the smarter people.

R: How do you think you're supposed to be different when you leave this school?

S1: Just to be educated more . . . you know, knowing things like in eighth grade when you learn Spanish. Like that.

S2: I guess be more educated, smarter, you know, knowledgeable about things. And maybe more mature.

S3: Be a lot smarter . . . about math, social studies, and English . . . and a lot bigger.

S4: Be much older and much smarter.

R: What's a good student mean to you?

S2: One that listens to the teacher, does what the teacher wants and if the teacher allows you to, you can do what you want to do next.

S1: Sticks to rules, gets work done, knows there's a time to play without getting in trouble. Leaves trouble, and if it stays, moves and moves and let's someone else know.

S3: Pays attention, does work, participates a lot, and is handsome.

S4: Does his work, don't get detention, and don't get the yard [put out of school].

R: What's important to teachers?

S4: To do work and not talk and pass on to the next grade.

S1: That you try to do things. One teacher has a poster that says "I can is more important that IQ." That you do your work and turn it in. That you're usually there. And that you don't get into trouble.

S2: That you do your work and that it's done on time.

S3: That we meet their expectations: Be good, do all their work, and participate a lot in class.

R: Does anyone tell you that this school is different from other ones?

S1: My sister says the school is a lot different. They didn't have the blue and gold teams when she was here. Teachers were spread out all over the place. She'd rather have it the way she had it because she says the high school is like the way it used to be here so we need to be ready for high school.

S2: My teacher says all these other schools are interested in teams. He says it causes less fights and he says there aren't as many as there used to be.

S4: My mom likes it because she doesn't hear about it on the news.

Obey. Do the work given you by the teacher. Learning is receiving knowledge. Occasionally have fun. These are the ways students look at their ideal role in the school. Their descriptions depict the good student as being essentially subservient and subordinate, a reactor to stimuli provided by the teacher—good factory workers. In other words, teachers are the frontline supervisors determining what work is to be done and what work is good work. This evidence suggests that the students hardly view themselves in the same way as the reform-oriented policymakers view the successful learner of the twenty-first century. While a concomitant of this image may be improved test scores, at the heart of most visions of student success is the transformation from a passive to an active role. So, no matter how much the adults are "reforming," regardless of increased or altered adult activity, if corresponding changes in student-related rules, roles, and relationships are not happening, then systemic restructuring is not happening either.

Moreover, the students' descriptions of the form of their schooling is consistent with that of past generations of students. For example, even in the midst of flexible scheduling and interdisciplinary teaming, the students clearly see a time and place for every subject: "If it's second period, room 204, it must be math." So, despite the potential that longer time periods and close proximity of teachers expert in different subject matter hold for schools, whatever is going on looks to these students a lot like what has been going on in secondary education for years.

It does seem that the students are beginning to recognize abilities in other students that have previously been unrecognized, and this seems to be a consequence of students being able to work with one another. While our observations of the classrooms indicate that for the most part the activity flow is teacher question-student answer, opportunities for students to supply some of the social mediation that must accompany learning are present. (Additionally, teachers from all four schools are reporting that they are beginning to see some positive changes in attendance, assignment completion, and discipline referrals.)

Still, students define the worth of their participation in school through the eyes of adults, which would indicate that students see themselves as relatively powerless actors in schools, not to mention in the hullabaloo about restructuring that is going on around them. Occasionally, a call to "hear what students have to say" will be sounded, but these efforts are even more superficial than those that claim to reach out to teachers. Quite simply, students currently have neither access to nor a role to play in the restructuring movement. Adults are the policymakers and students are the policy targets. Ultimately, if the kind of vision for students contained in the task force report and other reform arguments is to be realized, students will have to see themselves as responsible for their own learning and as the determiners of what success in that realm means. For that to happen, daily instruction and classroom management will have to reinforce, rather than contradict, reform visions of the "good" student—a point that McCaslin and Good (1992) have recently made in detail.

Observations on Trying to Restructure Systemically for Students

To be systemic, restructuring has to involve all the tiers of a state's educational system. To the credit of the people participating in SRP, a sincere attempt is being made to do that. The above is not an evaluation or indictment of the efforts of any individual, or individual school, in the system we describe; in fact, the study schools are achieving positive results in terms of climate measures, tests scores, and so on. These results are not, however, connected to institutionalized changes throughout the policy system, and they—at this midcourse point—do not add up to systemic restructuring. The task, of course, is incredibly complex. And it should not be surprising that (a) restructuring messages are filtered through various interpretative frames as they move from level to level and (b) this filtering has a way of redirecting the substance of the dialogue. For years and years, the loose connections within the educational system have not lent themselves to systemic, concerted action. Thus every time a new group adds its perspective to the initiative, the result is more cacophony than epiphany. Such filtering prevents any coherent vision, along the lines of the task force's notion, of what restructuring can accomplish for students—especially when they operate as implicit, unquestioned, "taken-for-granted" assumptions. Indeed, the most striking, and distressing, part of this particular filtering process is the loss of attention to students.

This loss occurred even when there had been considerable communication about restructuring in the state. For example, the task force issued a report and initiated discussions about school reform with state officials; state officials solicited schools to participate and arranged meetings at which school representatives could listen to clarifications of the project; ST members attended meetings at both levels and commiserated with one another on the process; principals and teachers figured out how the project fit into their respective worlds and acted accordingly; a few parents sat in on some of these deliberations and occasionally offered comments; and students talked with one another, totally remote from the adult discussions about schooling.

The trouble is that, despite all of the talk, there has not been very much conversation to date. In our minds, the essence of conversation is establishing a forum where all actors can hear and be heard on an equal basis. The data offered six sets of experiences where isolated actors shared unequally in the planning and implementation of educational restructuring. Most of the opportunities to engage people directly—to argue, to compromise, to propose, to decide, to understand—occur within rather than among the various role groups. Communication across levels is more formal and sterile—typically via reports, statements, proclamations, and the like. So, participants in the next level down or up in the system never are privy to all the draining and enlightening conversations that engender support for and commitment to the agreements that arise from the interaction. Instead, carefully deliberated conclusions at one level simply look whimsical or arbitrary to those at another level.

And, equally important, there is never a chance for all participants to make explicit the interpretive frames that others use to understand restructuring issues and as the basis for their actions. The process of explication would open up the possibility of mutually constructing an interpretive frame based on students. This can happen only through sustained dialogue.

Of course, this requirement to converse is only a beginning step to systemic change, and it is one that will take a lot of time. Time for discourse is typically not built into planning and implementation designs, especially considering the fact that restructuring is time consuming enough without additional elements—and actors—being added to the process. But, if restructuring is going to be systemic—affecting all levels of an educational system—then the talk is going to have to become a true conversation.

As Timar notes: "In order for restructuring to succeed as a reform strategy it must change not only local bureaucratic structures and policy environments, but also the nature and tone of the conversations about schooling" (1989, p. 275). The opportunity for a more engaging and effective conversation about schooling has arisen. To become more than just talk—that is, to translate into actual benefits for students—the restructuring movement will need to create supportive, systemic structures so that voices speaking from classrooms, school buildings, communities, and statehouses will have an equally attentive forum for what they say.

References

McCaslin, M., & Good, T. (1992). Compliant cognition: The misalliance of management and instructional goals in current school reform. *Educational Researcher, 21*(3), 4-17.

McDonnell, L. (1989). *Restructuring American schools: The promise and the pitfalls.* New York: Columbia University, Institute for Education and the Economy.

Rossman, G., Corbett, D., & Firestone, W. (1988). *Change and effectiveness in schools: A cultural perspective.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Sarason, S. (1982). *The culture of the school and the problem of change.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Smith, M., & O'Day, J. (1990). Systemic school reform. In S. Fuhrman & B. Malen (Eds.), *The politics of curriculum and testing.* London: Falmer.

Timar, T. (1989). The politics of school restructuring. *Phi Delta Kappan, 71*(4), 265-275.

9

Professional Cultures and Reforming Schools

Does the Myth of Sisyphus Apply?

KAREN SEASHORE LOUIS
JEAN A. KING

Sisyphus is one of the best known minor figures in Greek mythology, remembered because his fate seems so applicable to modern times. Faced daily with the task of pushing a boulder up a mountain only to have it roll down at the moment he reaches the top, Sisyphus is a symbol and touchstone for all committed professionals who believe that we labor long and hard at tasks that, at best, we can only partially or temporarily accomplish. We admire Sisyphus. He perseveres, his will undaunted by impossible circumstances. What educator cannot identify with that?

AUTHORS' NOTE: The preparation of this chapter was supported, in part, by the Center for the Organization and Restructuring of Schools at the University of Wisconsin, funded by the U.S. Department of Education (contract No. R117Q00005-9). The authors are grateful for comments on an earlier draft from Nina Bascia, Fred Newmann, Joe Murphy, and Mary Ann Raywid. Neither the sponsoring institutions nor our colleagues are responsible for the content or opinions expressed in this chapter.

At the same time, though, we marvel that he keeps struggling up that mountain without analyzing why he cannot accomplish his task. If evidence repeatedly suggests that a job can't be done, isn't it better to reorganize the activity so that you can at least accomplish something of worth? This essential dilemma—between commitment-perseverance, on the one hand, and practicality-compromise, on the other—is played out repeatedly in the life of educational reformers who work in schools.

One theme in the current panoply of ideas for improving education rests on the belief that reform may be best stimulated by creating new schools based on new(ish) ideas. These proposals come in varied forms, including, for example, the program of "charter schools" recently authorized in Minnesota and supported by the federal administration, and efforts in a number of urban school districts to develop new "schools of choice" that either start from scratch or are substantial overhauls of existing institutions, or the America 2000 proposal to create over 500 innovative new schools. A modification of this approach is found in efforts to fashion "schools within schools" that maintain a conventional school structure for many students but recruit teachers to design alternative programs for students who elect or are assigned to them. Such efforts respond directly to the increasing belief that schools and professional educators who manage them are, like Sisyphus, unable to carry out more effective ways of organizing their work primarily because they are constrained by the structure and culture of public schools. If you free teachers and students from existing bureaucratic chains, the argument goes, the U.S. school will be born again.

New and radically redesigned schools have an important place in current efforts to genuinely change the pattern of U.S. education. We believe, however, that the underlying assumption of many proponents—that the development of such schools constitutes a relatively straightforward solution to systemic school improvement—is simplistic. In this chapter, we do not intend to argue for or against the creation of new schools but to focus instead on an empirically based thesis: School reform through the initiation of new schools is no cure-all but instead creates its own set of challenges.

In particular, many advocates for new schools seem to overlook the fact that starting a new organization entails high levels of strain for the adults who work in them and, in the absence of attention to the development of human resources, these demands may obstruct the goals of reform. Our evidence suggests that such reform will be only partially successful if, idealistic visions notwithstanding, reformers spend all of their time thinking about curriculum and students and do not pay attention to what happens to the teachers who work there. Dedicated teachers will struggle with the task and the vision but, like Sisyphus, they often face an uphill battle with the possibility that, despite good intentions and backbreaking effort, their work may come to naught.

This chapter will examine the cases of two new middle schools, both located in metropolitan areas with longstanding traditions of educational alternatives. Compared with many urban districts, the districts supporting these schools are relatively resource rich. Despite positive environments for starting anew, however, the schools encountered similar problems during their planning phases and early implementation. Our goal in tracing their stresses is not to suggest that the educational strategies used at either were incorrect but to point to common problems that newly created schools are likely to encounter as they design an environment that works for both children and the staff who work with them. The two schools are unique in their origins, their philosophies, their patterns of leadership, and the relationship that they developed with parents, district staff, and other actors in their environments. We have explored these experiences within a framework based on the generic developmental dilemmas of new organizations, however, and argue, based on research from other fields, that similar problems are likely to occur in most new schools.

In expanding on our thesis, we draw on interviews with teachers, administrators, and relevant parents and community members as well as documentary data gathered from the fall of 1989 to the winter of 1993. The following topics will be addressed: difficulties in planning and the generic "liabilities of newness" in organizational design that include problems of articulating and learning new roles, problems of creating trust and a new organizational culture, and environmental pressures. In the final section of the chapter, we present implications for practice and policymaking to support the development of new schools of choice.

Student-Focused Schools for Early Adolescents: Dewey and Whitehead

Dewey and Whitehead middle schools[1] each speak to the commitment of teachers, parents, and the community to break the mold of traditional schooling. Located on opposite sides of the United States, they share a dedication to innovative education for early adolescents in an urban context.

Dewey is an innovative middle-grade school (Grades 5-7) marking a joint venture of a northeastern urban school district, business partners, the community, and parents. Following a competition for creative educational programs, organizers slated the winning proposal for immediate implementation in the fall of 1989, and newly hired staff rushed to ready the program. In its first year, the school comprised three separate sites: one in the city's business district, one near an art museum and theater, and one on a college campus. Groups of students rotated among the sites, moving with one teacher who stayed with the group the entire year. This structure changed after the first year so that students now have a home school base from which they move into the community.

The school exemplifies several innovations. An ongoing curricular focus for student activities is experiential education in an urban environment. Students, approximately 40% of whom are members of minority groups, spend time at different "learning sites" during the year, working regularly on real world examples with outside mentors in several subject areas. Professional collaboration is a way of life at Dewey, with teachers working together on a routine basis. As one teacher put it, "The advantage of teaching in this school is working in teams and not by yourself." Site-based, participatory governance takes the form of an overseeing steering committee and several subcommittees representing business, the community, and parents.

The second case, Whitehead Middle School, is located on the West Coast. Opened in 1989, Whitehead is a citywide middle-grade magnet school (Grades 4-8) in a large metropolitan district with a 42% minority population and a reputation for "good education." Housed in a renovated building in the center city, the school has become a district showcase as an experiment in school restructuring. It has as its primary goal individualized learning in a supportive environment. Each student has an individualized learning plan (ILP) that is reviewed several times a year by the student, parents, and an adviser who remains with the student for 5 years. Affective outcomes are central to the school's vision.

Visitors to Whitehead are often astonished at the amount of technology available to students. An integrated learning system provides support for math and reading instruction; two computer labs serve as work sites for word processing and project development; two classrooms are equipped with discourse systems that enable teachers to interact with students during class; and additional computers are available in several classrooms. But staff view technology as a means to an end. As the founding director of the school notes, Whitehead is "high-tech, high-touch, and high-teach," with a student-centered focus that uses technology as one tool in the learning process, not as a substitute for teaching.

Like Dewey, parents choose to send their children to the school and agree to collaborate actively with staff. The student body also reflects the diversity of the larger community. A parental site council routinely discusses school matters, and three positions—lead teacher, generalist, and student intern—compose Whitehead's differentiated staffing pattern.

Planning New Schools: Who's Involved?

It is unfashionable in the educational change literature to focus on planning, which is assumed to be far less important in determining the success of a change effort than implementation (Berman, 1981). Furthermore, it is often argued that, no matter what theorists *wish* organizations would do, carefully coordinated planning is both uncommon and often counterproductive (see Louis & Miles, 1990, for a review). The issues that face new schools are often embedded in their origins, however, and many new organizations encounter severe problems during early implementation because of designs that create impossible working conditions (Rosenblum & Louis, 1981; Van de Ven, 1980).

We certainly are not the first to discover the early developmental problems that new schools face, nor are such problems unique to schools. The many factors affecting the course of planning and implementation listed by Fullan (1991) are indication enough of the complexity of the process. It is during the earliest part of a new innovation's life that it is most fragile, however (Stinchcomb, 1965; Van de Ven, 1980). Firestone (1976) studied alternative schools started in the 1960s and discovered that conflict and collapse often replaced a relatively short period of early enthusiasm. Perkins, Nieva, and Lawler (1983), reviewing the literature on organizational "life cycles," found a surprising level of agreement on a stage-based theory among authors writing in very different theoretical traditions. The first two stages of each theory reviewed could be described as turbulent. First, there is a stage of naive optimism and commitment to a new idea, followed by conflict and challenge to authority. Only if the organization survives these two apparently inevitable phases does it move into a period of stabilization.

One such issue contributing to turbulence in the early phases of developing schools is the sheer number of actors or stakeholder groups who typically get involved. As March and Olsen (1976) note, decision processes in schools have a "garbage can" quality, in which players and issues cycle in and out, creating an uncertainty that may contribute to implementation problems.

Who should be involved in planning a new school? Following Bolman and Deal's (1991) human resources approach, those who will be most involved with the school—teachers and administrators within the district—should actively participate, a finding empirically verified by Van de Ven (1980) in a study of community-based child-care centers. A counterview argues that this strategy would be likely to perpetuate the old and ignore the new, especially ideas from outside the circle of professional educators (Sarasen, 1982) or that it is simply unnecessary to involve everyone who will be affected (Crandall, Eiseman, & Louis, 1986). Data from the two schools in this study suggest that neither route is problem free but that the more typical exclusion of teachers who will actually work in the school creates serious problems.

Whitehead: The Value of Inside Expertise

After a well-known educator delivered a speech discussing forms of schooling to meet the educational needs of students in the next century, two longtime central office administrators took up the challenge. With the support of the superintendent, one went on special assignment, charged with designing, organizing, and locating resources for an innovative school that would be a working model of education for the future. In a yearlong planning effort, this project director convened meetings of educational and technology experts, classroom teachers, union representatives, representatives of the local community, and business leaders. Fund-raising was central, ensuring that, when the school opened, the technology, media, and other innovative materials that formed a critical component of the new school's work would be in place.

Despite the year's planning, however, Whitehead's first year nearly overwhelmed the newly hired staff. The head instructional staff began work on July 1, two months before the widely publicized opening of the school, armed with only a conceptual framework and a commitment to certain principles and instructional approaches. The "details" of implementation were left to the staff and the students who joined them in September. Because the district was unable to quickly create new space downtown, as the school's vision demanded, the year began in a shared facility without all the needed resources; a midyear move during the second year brought the school to its new facility in the heart of the city's business district.

Dewey: The Business Community Takes Charge

The planning process at Dewey differed dramatically from that of Whitehead and created, in effect, what we might now call a charter school. Increasingly concerned that the existing system was incapable of providing quality education to local students, an influential business leader held a series of informal discussions in

1988 with business and community representatives and local educational leaders, including the president of the union. These discussions culminated in an open design competition to create a new public school for the city. Funded by this businessman, a formal request for proposals announced the competition, and the planning group ultimately received more than 50 proposals. Five semifinalists were paid $1,000 each to elaborate their visions, and the winning proposal, together with features of the four other proposals, was deemed ready for immediate implementation.

Once the planning group completed the design of Dewey, district personnel hired the teachers and a principal who would bring the design to life. Although at least some on the committee wanted to delay opening the school until the fall of 1990, political pressures and the desire to act forced an immediate opening, only 2 months after the instructional staff was in place. As was the case at Whitehead, the exact working out of the new school was left to the teachers and the students. But, unlike Whitehead, where many high-tech instructional resources were available early in the first year, the failure of promised resources to appear created a clear challenge to Dewey's staff during the first year.

Summary: Common Problems

At both Dewey and Whitehead, less than a year passed before the schools' doors opened to students. The planning processes occurred in charged political environments, supported in both cases by local school reform advocates—policy entrepreneurs who serve as innovation gadflies to their respective public school systems. In the case of Dewey, an external group sponsored the design activities with only nominal support from the district superintendent and school board. Whitehead's superintendent, who saw an opportunity for national attention, supported central office involvement in planning and nurtured the board's support.

In both cases, however, the planning process failed to include the teachers who would have the responsibility for making the new schools succeed. Not a surprise, the first year at both schools passed in a whirlwind of activity as plans that, ultimately, were more conceptual than practical were put to the test. A Whitehead teacher noted,

> [The planning] was done with the very best of intentions, but absent from contact with the people who were actually involved in the program, both parents and staff. The people who became the school were not . . . the people who were having these discussions, so there was never really any committee [to work] between the vision that was imagined by those people and the vision that was imagined by the people who actually lived it.

As a Dewey teacher put it, "We need time to sort out roles, expectations, and communication. . . . Options are not always considered, and good decisions aren't made. The staff can't see the forest for the trees."

At Dewey, the lack of internal district support provided little comfort or assistance for the struggling staff. As the creation of an outside group, the school largely faced indifference from other district personnel. Whitehead, viewed by many as a favored pet of the superintendent in an environment of declining resources, faced annoyance and anger within the district context. In neither case did the yearlong planning process—in one case internal, in the other external—provide detailed plans for translating vision to practice. The planners may have thought they pushed the stone up the mountain, but the teachers clearly found their load at the bottom.

The "Liabilities of Newness": Teachers and Their Needs

New and restructuring schools often get positive press coverage and massive attention from educators. At least one we are familiar with dedicates nearly a third of a teacher's time to scheduling visitors who wish to have a quick view of the facility and its novel programs; another has allocated a special room to accommodate visitors. Journalistic and once-over-lightly examinations of these schools, however, have paid little attention to the costs associated with starting from scratch.

Quite a number of years ago, Stinchcomb (1965, p. 148) identified the "liability of newness." We have known for a long time that new, for-profit organizations are extremely vulnerable; most fail within their first year of incorporation, and the "death rate" during subsequent years is still high. This is true for recently formed organizations that provide a well-understood service or product (e.g., fast-food restaurants) and even more true for entrepreneurs who hope to provide a novel service or product. New schools that are founded because of a desire to offer a very different educational program—not, as in the 1950s and 1960s, simply because of increases in the student population—fall into the category of both new and novel. This presents them with a number of potentially difficult problems, including lack of precedent, problems of creating trust within the organization, and environmental pressures. At Dewey and Whitehead, each of these problems took many dimensions.

Lack of Precedent for Teacher and Administrator Roles

Stinchcomb notes that people create new organizations because of the need for innovative products or procedures. Often, although not always, they involve new roles to be learned. In the case of restructured schools, many of the roles are superficially similar in title, but the expectations of what people will do in the role of teacher, administrator, student, and parent may be quite different. Teachers in new or novel schools have no "old hands" to whom they can turn with a problem and no time-tested set of procedures to follow. Central office administrators and educational experts may have no better grasp of the details of new teacher roles. And, not only are teachers' roles poorly defined, but, due to the pressing nature of the workday, they often have little time to discuss their work.

A second related problem Stinchcomb (1965) notes is that inventing and learning new roles is inherently inefficient and often fraught with conflict and difficulty: "Bottlenecks which experience will smooth out create situations that can only be solved with a perpetual psychology of crisis" (p. 149). These interrelated problems—the need to learn because of lack of precedent and the experience of inefficiency and conflict as a consequence of that need—are amply exhibited in the cases of Dewey and Whitehead (see also Lieberman, Darling-Hammond, & Zuckerman, 1991).

The press of schooling. The problems identified above are exacerbated in schools more than in other types of organizations because of the custodial functions that schools perform. Students are always present and must at all times be supervised under conditions that ensure safety and reasonably effective learning. During Dewey's and Whitehead's first year, the problem of time and keeping the students occupied with reasonable tasks was clearly the most difficult one facing teachers.

In retrospect, a design flaw in both schools was that they were organized to achieve radically different conditions of schooling for *children*, but their schedules made it virtually impossible for *teachers* to meet to develop the new model. Herein lies the applicability of the Sisyphus image: Because of the demands of daily work in new schools, the teachers had no time to reflectively (re)consider the task that was given to them. Further thinking about the educational design of the school was impeded by the need to keep pushing the stone up the mountain.

Dewey teachers were located in two-person teams in three separate sites. Although teachers in each team could organize their time to "free up" a teacher for preparation or planning, they had no joint planning time during the school day. Because teachers were committed to a participatory governance model that involved them in a variety of after-school committees, carving out time to reflect and develop the teams or the school as a group was simply not possible. During the second year, all the teachers were in the same physical plant but still had no time during the school day when they were not responsible for supervising students. In the third year, a "prep period" was implemented, but teachers on the same team still did not have overlapping free time.

At Whitehead, the sense of crisis was apparent from the beginning. As one lead teacher put it, "When I first visited the building (two weeks before the school opened) and saw that it was completely empty except for a few tables and chairs, I thought, 'Oh, my God! How are we going to do it?' " During the first year, there were consistent reports that faculty were working 60 or more hours a week just to keep up with the need to develop instructional activities for the students. Like Dewey, the school had "traded" support staff for a low student-teacher ratio, which increased the demands on teachers to supervise students and resulted in few opportunities for collaborative work.

The composition of the student body reinforced the press of the schedule. Middle-grade children are often viewed as requiring more consistent and constant adult supervision because they are neither as compliant as elementary children nor as responsible as high school-age children. Both schools were "schools of choice," and one might reasonably expect that this would produce a more highly motivated student body than in a nonchoice school (Moore & Davenport, 1991). Because both were also advertised as offering an "alternative environment," however, many students who applied were viewed by their teachers or parents as intelligent but unsuccessful in regular classrooms. In other words, many had minor behavior or learning problems. The need to reinforce the open, child-centered focus of the schools' philosophies while maintaining reasonable order in the schools increased teachers' stress. By the middle of the third year, the tension between order and student empowerment remained unresolved in both schools and had intensified frictions among the staff and between staff and parents.

The curriculum process. In both schools, teachers who were hired in the summer faced opening day with virtually no curriculum in hand. There were slogans about what the curriculum should look like and, at Whitehead, pieces of curriculum written during the planning year and some clear principles to guide curriculum development. But explicit content and actual lesson plans were missing, and, in any event, the educational philosophies of both schools demanded constant reconstruction of the curriculum.

At Dewey, each teacher team had a mixed-age class covering three grades. As a result, any effective curriculum that was developed could only be repeated in a 3-year cycle. Thus each teacher knew that the first 3 years would involve a new curricular demand for each day. Because teachers were isolated at their three sites, opportunities for working on curriculum together were rare. The initial group of teachers were committed to the concept of experiential education but had little or no experience in developing experiential curricula; the effort involved in learning and doing at the same time overwhelmed them. By the end of the third year, only two faculty were left from the initial group of eight teachers.

Although Dewey could have turned to models of experiential education in preexisting schools-without-walls, they did not do so until the second year because neither the teachers nor the principal was linked into the loosely organized group of school-based educators interested in this topic, and they were consumed with the immediate crises of lurching from day to day. By the end of the second year, they agreed that constant development was not working, and the teaming policy changed so that students would move in groups among the three teams, which would repeat a curriculum module three times over the course of the year. While there is still a sense of pressure about developing a quality curriculum, the job is viewed as more manageable.

Whitehead teachers were strongly committed to the belief that the curriculum should be built around student interests and involve student construction of knowledge. Considered "unauthentic," textbooks were not permitted. During each quarter, teachers were obligated to offer new courses that were in part designed to meet student demands. Both the content and the pedagogy of many courses changed several times during the year, although it was considered "OK" to repeat a popular course, and some courses (e.g., writing, foreign languages) changed in focus but not necessarily in instructional strategy. Based on the elective principle, teachers needed to develop the curriculum to some extent before it was even known whether there would be sufficient student interest to sustain the course. For example, one novice language teacher worked with two colleagues to develop a module that integrated music, social studies, and foreign language, but so few students signed up for it that it was not offered. In most cases during the first and second years, development occurred in "real time"—syllabi, readings, and course outlines often were not available until several weeks into the class, which caused considerable conflict with parents who were anxious to monitor what their children were learning.

During the middle of the third year of operations, the school's parent council reaffirmed its commitment to student-focused curriculum development by supporting a more complex schedule that encouraged shorter modules, more frequently changing offerings, and more individualized projects, thus increasing the demands on teachers for perpetual innovation. Within 2 months, teachers questioned the wisdom of keeping the shorter modules in the schedule, except for special afternoon offerings.

The teachers' role. As implied in the above discussion, teachers recruited to Dewey and Whitehead were committed to taking on new roles as well as alternative instructional strategies and saw this as an essential part of educational reform. The will to push this particular boulder up the mountain, however, was not necessarily matched with skill in keeping it moving.

Dewey teachers were expected to participate in a complex set of committee structures that involved them in governance and decision making outside of the classroom. The design for Dewey was based on the assumption of principal as guide rather than leader. Because initially there were no support staff, teachers were also expected to take on roles as counselors. As noted, curriculum development was a major part of the job as well. But there was no additional funding for staff development in any of these areas. Well into the third year, we observed that group process and decision-making skills among the teachers were poor, resulting in a great deal of wasted time in staff meetings. Although staff had been added to provide support in the counseling roles (e.g., a community liaison and a special education teacher), confusion still remained about how to enact this aspect of the teachers' role. The curriculum crisis was structurally solved, but not until the summer after the third year was support provided to expand teachers' ability to work within the experiential education framework.

Whitehead teachers encountered a new form of role differentiation. The head teachers, in particular, were expected to take on responsibilities for staff development, hiring, and most administrative functions—but they had no prior experience with these roles, nor were they provided with support from the principal or district. In most cases, it seemed that head teachers avoided those aspect of leadership where they felt least able to perform.

All teachers had the same expanded counseling and curriculum development roles described previously. In addition, because of the school's emphasis on integrating technology into all aspects of instruction, teachers had to become able to integrate technology into their teaching strategies. Unlike Dewey, there was ample funding and additional time built into the yearly schedule for staff development. Resources, however, were largely allocated to training in the mechanics of the technological component of the school or to give teachers time for course development. By the third year, less experienced teachers still complained bitterly about the lack of support for learning how to teach in the new ways demanded by the schools, and many teachers were clearly uncomfortable with all but the simplest aspects of the school's technological resources. A set of interactive video disk players sat locked in a closet because no one knew how to use them.

Summary. The literature on school reform is filled with assertions about the need for collaborative work (Little, 1984; Louis, 1992a), reflection (Schön, 1987), and dialogue (Newmann, 1991) if teaching is to become more professionalized and reform is to affect the quality of experiences in the classroom. Louis (1992b) has argued that schools must become "learning organizations" characterized by dense communication networks and systematic incorporation of new ideas into practice if real restructuring is to persist. Yet, when we look at the experiences of Dewey and Whitehead, we see a paradox. Radical restructuring that focuses on student experiences and does not directly attend to teachers' needs may generate conditions that inhibit collaboration, reflection, and dialogue, which reinforces the tendency to keep pushing the stone up the hill to meet the daily needs of students, irrespective of the painful sense of confusion and lack of progress. Unremitting pressures associated with "newness" and the need to develop the school in a seat-of-the-pants mode do not create a meaningful learning environment, even under conditions of extra resources. We hasten to add that, although the liabilities of newness associated with the lack of models and learning inefficiencies are inevitable, they need not be as severe as those experienced by Dewey and Whitehead. In our conclusion, we will turn to some implications for policy and practice to mitigate these problems.

Lack of Trust and Problems of Creating Culture

Another problem noted by Stinchcomb is that new organizations are staffed by strangers. Although in modern societies we are used to dealing with strangers on a daily basis, every new organization may face problems in developing a culture of trust and cooperation. In addition, the lack of previous experience with others in the group often results in simple misunderstandings about who will typically do what with whom and when.

New schools are often staffed through the recruitment of an entirely new volunteer group of teachers and administrators who typically begin their work with no knowledge of one another and no history of trust. The same is true of the relationships between the school staff and parents. Because parents have no previous experience with the school, and no place to turn to establish a sense of expectations about how it will work, they experience anxiety about how to interpret their child's experience as well.

Low staff stability. Instability among the staff occurred for different reasons at Dewey and Whitehead, but with similar consequences. Dewey experienced high teacher turnover during the first 2 years of operation, largely due to teachers' belief that the effort required to sustain the school simply was too high. As the school began its third year, only the principal and two teachers remained from the group of eight professionals that had so enthusiastically opened the school. Although the school made every effort to explain the school's philosophy and expectations to those who applied for positions, during the third year, one new teacher insisted on working to the union contract and was demonstrably uninterested in collaborative curriculum development, which created tension in nearly every faculty meeting.

Whitehead opened with three grades in 1989 and added a grade each year for the next two years. During the first year, the school was staffed solely by the four head teachers, four interns from a local college, and three "educational assistants." The head teachers developed a high level of value cohesiveness as they struggled to shape the school's philosophy but, as additional teachers were added in subsequent years, they reportedly felt shut out of the process of influencing the school's development and unable to raise questions successfully about school structures and procedures. Due to dissatisfactions with their ability to contribute to the school's development, two left after the second year, and others indicated that they were planning to leave after the third. Although a consultant was brought in during the second year to work on improving the climate of trust, the lack of commitment demonstrated by the "generalists" reinforced the head teachers' belief that the fate of the school depended solely on them while the staff conflicts reinforced district office views that "you can't run a school without a strong principal."

Although the sources of stress were different, in both cases, the constant introduction of new staff who had to adjust to a radically different school setting produced low cohesiveness at best and nonproductive conflict at worst. Interviews with new teachers in each school reveal that they perceived trust to be a major issue: New teachers were asked to engage in innovative instruction, but they found it difficult to turn to more experienced teachers. For example, in Whitehead, three teachers had been trained to provide in-class support in instruction to new teachers. New teachers did not ask for help, however, although they reportedly wanted it, because of their concerns about the way it would reflect on them. During Dewey's third year, the team that spent the most time working together comprised two new teachers, presumably because these were nonthreatening relationships. New teachers did not seek help as often from more experienced teachers or the principal.

These problems were not due to bungling the recruitment process. Because of the unstable political climate surrounding both schools, teachers were not necessarily motivated to give up an unexciting but certain environment for one of great uncertainty. Both schools are located in districts that are generally well managed and reasonably supportive of teachers. Thus a large pool of talented but highly dissatisfied staff does not exist. District personnel policies reinforce this problem. Should a teacher choose to leave Dewey or Whitehead, he or she would be put into a district pool for reassignment—and possibly risk being worse off than previously. Thus, after the first year, both schools tended to recruit untenured teachers (who had little choice) or teachers who were trying to escape their current assignment. This, of course, undermines the basis for value congruence.

The "community/parent relations" question. Parents did have to choose to send their children to Dewey or Whitehead, and there was, according to parents in both schools, a basis for value congruence with staff. Parents were also concerned, however, about the lack of structure and the absence of the more obvious characteristics of schooling in both settings. Because the schools were making up their programs as they went along, parents had to "take it on faith" that their children were receiving a high-quality experience. With little formal curriculum, no textbooks to monitor, and unconventional assessment procedures, the parents who were most actively involved in their children's education frequently expressed concern—and even alarm—while trying to remain supportive.

Adding to parental anxiety was the fact that in neither school was it clear what would happen to their children if they completed their middle years at Dewey or Whitehead. Although Dewey's district had an "open high school" in one school-within-a-school, only the graduates of the open elementary school were automatically eligible for that program. At Whitehead, parents were concerned that the unstructured, student-centered curriculum and the absence of tests would not adequately prepare students for the district's traditional high schools, and activist parents banded together to lobby for an experimental high school as well.

Both schools attempted to keep in touch with parents through more frequent conferences than are typical in a middle school. At Whitehead, for example, parents attend conferences three times per year to help plan their child's individualized program. Nevertheless, complaints about lack of information were prevalent in both schools, and some parents withdrew their children because of their concerns about lack of communication and evidence of growth. Alarmingly, most of the Asian children who initially enrolled in Whitehead because of its technological emphasis withdrew after the first year. The increasing reputation of both schools as having disciplinary problems did little to increase the trust of middle-class parents.

Governance: What's the right balance? Both Dewey and Whitehead aspired to increase trust and cohesiveness by eliminating friction between administrators and teachers and by empowering teachers. In both schools, however, teacher concerns about leadership remained a significant issue.

Dewey exhibited a partial "leadership vacuum." The principal was hired after long discussion within the planning group about whether there should be a principal at all. When they finally agreed that it would be more practical to have one (under some pressure from the district), they selected an individual who strongly espoused a commitment to shared leadership. Dr. Booth believed that teachers should be responsible for the curricular and instructional aspects of the school, while her role was to coordinate, get resources, protect the school from district politics, and otherwise enable effective teaching to occur. Although she did not see herself as an "instructional leader," she espoused a key role as a behind-the-scenes facilitator. For example, she did not run staff meetings; the job rotated among all regular teachers.

The pressures on the school and problems with funding and implementation, however, were so severe during the first 2 years of the school's life that she was frequently away from the school, attending meetings in the district office and putting out fires. Because the school was small, she was later assigned to be the principal of two other experimental schools as well, which also took her out of the building. Her absences made it difficult for her to work in her preferred, informal "talk is the work" style. Teachers in the school lacked leadership skills and direction and frequently wasted staff meeting time on trivial issues or failed to reach closure. While Dr. Booth was frustrated and wished that she had the resources for staff development in leadership skills, she did not want to deviate from her policy of managing a "teacher-run school."

Whitehead, in contrast, rapidly became an oligarchy. The head teachers provided other staff with limited opportunities to participate in decisions. For example, when we asked if we could meet with the staff to introduce our research project to them, we were told that it was not necessary because head teachers made such decisions. Agendas for meetings were preset so that efforts by parents or staff to spontaneously introduce topics often could not be accommodated. It was widely believed that head teachers had "driven out" a generalist teacher who joined the staff in the second year because he disagreed with them on a number of issues. During the third year, a newly appointed half-time principal experienced in assisting troubled schools was appointed to help deal with the increasingly difficult problems of trust at Whitehead.

Summary. Developing schools of choice should increase the chances for developing trust among staff members and between staff and parents. If teachers and students select a school rather than being assigned, they will, presumably, be able to find an environment that reinforces rather than conflicts with personal value systems. Value congruence should, in turn, increase teacher commitment and effort (Louis, 1991; Metz, Hemmings, & Tyrie, 1988).

These results may occur in restructured schools that have reached the stage of stabilization. In both Dewey and Whitehead, however, a variety of factors associated with newness interfered with the development of trust and therefore contributed to conflict and dissatisfaction. In both cases, the initial hopes and enthusiasm about the development of a value-cohesive community focused on children's needs have faded, replaced by frustration, conflict, or a sense of rudderlessness. The absence of trust means that individuals may fall back on conventional procedures and goals—old models and norms, not new. For example, in one "textbook-free" Whitehead classroom, the teacher xeroxed math lessons and materials from a textbook and passed them out to students, while in Dewey the principal fretted that teachers were using community sites less and less. Old norms dredged up to maintain individual teacher and parent confidence reinforce the problem of Sisyphus: They become an inevitable pressure ensuring that the rocks keep slipping back down the hill.

Environmental Pressures

Stinchcomb's final dilemma for new organizations revolves around the problem of maintaining effective relations with the relevant environment.[2] Existing organizations usually have stable (if not always productive) relationships with key external constituencies that provide resources, but, as Louis and Miles (1990) have pointed out, schools that attempt to do things differently often find that even overtly supportive districts and boards unwittingly place obstacles in their paths. Districts may promote alternative schools—but they are then often surprised that the new schools behave differently than traditional models. New schools face a tough job in establishing a legitimate place within a traditional public school system, which itself suffers from environmental pressures from the larger public and the state to conform to popular views of how "real schools" operate. Three environmental pressures directly affected the development of Dewey and Whitehead: the districts' accountability needs, the competition for resources in a difficult fiscal environment, and the effects of public visibility.

Accountability—but little support. The two districts in question both adopted a posture that the new schools were a 3-year experiment, at which time administrators would decide whether or not to continue to support the school. As part of the experimental stance, each school was expected to participate in an evaluation.

Whitehead's planners envisioned the school as a demonstration based on a rational management process. Staff were expected to alter any activities that evidence found to be ineffective, and a local foundation provided funding to support 3 years of formative evaluation and a summative study at the end of that time. The district contracted with a professor at a local university, who implemented an intensive qualitative formative study of school activities.

The tension between the school's need for process information and the central office's need for accountability to the school board, however, placed the evaluators in an untenable position. On the one hand, unvarnished facts about the ongoing crises of a school in process were sought—and there were many. On the other, administrators wanted descriptive information of the school's success. While some teachers viewed the evaluators as "mother confessors," others saw them as central office informants. Helpful information documenting tensions in student discipline, professional climate, and achievement results also had the potential to derail Whitehead centrally, rather than serving as grist for the school's development: To be candid was to potentially threaten the school's existence. During the second year, evaluation revealed teachers' frustrations, but the "solution"—inservice work with a consultant to "build trust"—failed to resolve the problem, and the superintendent was well aware that the school was troubled.

At Dewey, accountability took the form of a central office formative evaluation during the first year. The district evaluator worked with school staff to shape the research questions, but, the staff, already consumed with trying to "redesign the car while we're driving 60 miles per hour," viewed evaluation as just one more thing to do. The most specific recommendation after year 1 was to improve physical education, something the teachers had already planned. When six of the eight teachers left at the end of the year, the reconfigured staff simply couldn't spend time on a process they saw yielding little for the school.

In both districts, regular school funds supported radically different models of schooling, and the strings of accountability were unavoidably tied to that money. Central office administrators needed a signal evaluation that all was well (King & Pechman, 1984). But the goal of the evaluations and the assumption of a rational developmental process placed constraints on teachers who were busy with daily responsibilities for students. While new information might have been useful, time spent on the evaluation was time taken away from more pressing concerns related to individual students, schedules, and curriculum. The rational assumption that evaluation would somehow help the schools was swallowed up in the press of days and the lack of real follow-up and support for addressing issues revealed by evaluation.

Policy and resource instability. As noted above, Stinchcomb reminds us that new organizations must maintain effective relationships with their external environments. For both schools, the external environment changed dramatically in 3 years, placing both, through virtually no fault of their own, in a potentially uncertain status.

Whitehead's history suggests that the political support and resources provided by the district superintendent were crucial to its development. That superintendent left the district in 1991, to be replaced by a highly respected, longtime district administrator who was well aware of Whitehead's reputation and, in a year of extreme financial crisis, made his position clear: Whitehead was a school like any other in the district. He expected it to operate within district budget constraints and to succeed on the standardized measures the district uses to measure success. The project manager was given new central office assignments, and, when Whitehead's half-time principal retired, the superintendent's replacement was a troubleshooter with a reputation for fixing schools in crisis. Members of the site council worried about what would happen if the school's test scores didn't improve, and the innovative longer school year was reduced to a regular 180 days beginning with 1991-1993.

In its third year, Dewey faced even greater instability. The school's concept required instructional resources that business supporters never provided. District leadership was stable, but neither the superintendent nor the school board had ever been visible proponents of the school. Given its history of limited resources, staff turnover, and perceived disorganization, rumors of Dewey's closing at the end of 3 years became commonplace in the fall of 1991. Despite a successful referendum dedicated to reduced class size, the district's overall fiscal situation was grim, with talk of additional major reductions in 1992.

The new schools created resource dilemmas for the district administrators. On the one hand, they clearly required additional dollars, equipment, and space if they were to achieve their potential. But, on the other, a school is a school, and even Whittle Communications' new venture argues that all should operate with equal resources. Both schools' creators worked to ensure that special moneys would be available to support the innovative activities during the first few years.

But, even if the fund-raising had succeeded, money is only one resource needed in new schools. Human resources in the form of necessary training (e.g., on group dynamics and team building) and routine release time for teachers to reflect on their work are important for sustaining change efforts in middle schools (Pechman, King, Schack, & Van Dyke, 1990).

Should new schools receive additional district support to help them establish themselves? The budget crises facing both districts in 1992 made it difficult for administrators to do this, particularly because in neither of the cases does the superintendent see the school as his project, although both superintendents are not unsympathetic.

The effects of attention: A "lose-lose" situation. Early in their development, both Whitehead and Dewey became the darlings of the media, appearing in professional journals, in newspapers, and even on national television as models of innovation. Numerous groups invited teachers to present at local, regional, and national conferences. For the teachers, such professional opportunities were exciting, evidence of their changing role in education. But, in retrospect, the old saw that "there's no such thing as good news" seems to have found additional support in what has taken place at these schools.

At both sites, presentations and media attention consumed the staff's time and energy. In the first 2 years, Dewey teachers, working hard to make sense of the school's operation themselves, were reluctant to receive visitors. Whitehead went so far as to hire a staff person to arrange and conduct tours and to handle public relations for the school. Funding for this position came from the school's staffing budget, increasing class size as a result.

Two examples from Whitehead suggest the powerfully negative potential of this attention. When a well-known politician chose to visit Whitehead for a televised photo opportunity, only selected students and teachers were allowed inside; the remaining were invited to hear the public speech, and many questioned why they were removed from their own school.

The second example relates to the reporting of standardized test scores. When Whitehead's scores fell following year 1, the staff began to look seriously at reading and mathematics programs. But, when someone leaked the results to the local newspaper, which sensationalized the negative outcomes, the district administration became sensitized to bad news. With hopes of deemphasizing the negative results of testing, the superintendent embargoed the second year's report until late in January of year 3, only to be barraged by headlines when the scores suggested that students who stayed at Whitehead the longest suffered the biggest declines. School staff are now working to raise test scores—an ironic activity for a school that purports to do things differently.

Although it is no doubt exciting for a school to have attention from the news media and the attention may, at some level, raise national optimism about public school reform, for Dewey and Whitehead, the long-term outcomes of such publicity have not been positive. By using resources that might otherwise have gone to the schools' development, media attention has drained needed energies and created a fishbowl environment not conducive to growth. To the extent that the publicity is bad, this attention has truly created a lose-lose situation.

Summary. The environmental pressures on new schools point to the realities of their political contexts. The need to produce information for district accountability purposes put teachers in a difficult position, having to take time out from immediate demands to participate and wondering whether to withhold vital but potentially damaging information. Political vagaries and the plight of district budgets can inescapably place these schools at risk, and the media attention that can create good press and public support for them may be costly when the news is bad. In addition, resources devoted to media management cannot be devoted to school functioning. Public visibility resulted in both cases in decreased support for the school among administrators and the community—largely because the liabilities of newness became grist for school board and journalists' mills. In this case, Sisyphus is again alone in pushing the boulder up the hill, with little or no support for reflecting about the necessity of the boulder, the hill, the involvement of others in the task, or broader goals of the effort.

Implications

The stories of Dewey and Whitehead document the stress, conflict, and uncertainty that exist in new schools. New organizations are, we argue, inherently vulnerable and are typically subject to the generic problems outlined above. We hasten to add, however, that the data presented above do not bear on the question of whether children in Dewey and Whitehead are receiving an effective and stimulating education. Although not reported here, we have observed classrooms in both schools and believe that both offer exciting experiences for students. These schools have not failed in an educational sense but are encountering evolutionary stages that locate them squarely in the experience reported in other public and private sectors.

We also believe, however, that at least some of the difficulties that Dewey and Whitehead encountered can be minimized. In particular, their maturation was impeded by the exclusive focus on the education of children. Of course, children and learning are the primary justification for efforts to reform, but reform does not occur without the dedication of adults, nor does it occur in the absence of a supportive environment. The development of new approaches to curriculum and instruction must shape and be shaped by issues of design that consider all members of the school community.

Creating New Schools: Implications for Practice

Improving planning. Dewey and Whitehead were plagued by a common problem of rational managerial thinking: the assumption that planning and implementation are discrete and separable stages in the process of major change. As Louis and Miles (1990) have argued, reform requires evolutionary planning, in which action and development are deliberately intertwined over a relatively long period of time. Some clear recommendations can be drawn using the evolutionary planning assumptions:

1. Planning teams should not be distinct from implementation teams. The pattern of having a broad group of stakeholders and experts design a program and then turn it over to a team of administrators and teachers who are to carry it out adds unnecessarily to the pressures of creating a new organization. Political pressures aside, the planning process should include sufficient time for the school's actual teachers to translate visions into implementable plans.

2. Policy entrepreneurs and idea champions can be helpful in gaining acceptance for plans and for raising support/funds. It should be remembered, however, that policy entrepreneurs are not practitioners and their ideas need to be tempered with the wisdom of recent school- or classroom-based experience.
3. Planning should include attention to the needs of teachers as well as to the needs of students. Realistically, the best way to ensure this happens is to have teachers who will be involved in the school involved in planning from the very beginning.
4. Planning/implementation should occur over a minimum of a 3-year period. The focus on short-range planning teams that are distinct from the actors who must flesh out and act on the plan adds unnecessarily to the pressures of early implementation.
5. Central office staff must manage the district environment to ensure that the new school is neither ignored nor reviled. This may mean holding off on the public's demands for premature information about performance while creating an internal environment that encourages use of "formative evaluation" data.

The need to create a nurturing environment for teachers. Ideas for new schools usually focus on student needs and/or educational philosophies—or addressing political exigencies. As these cases demonstrate, more attention needs to be paid to the needs of adults in the school if reform is to proceed. Even in traditionally structured schools, teacher engagement has been shown to be associated with student engagement, which is, in turn, associated with achievement (Bryk & Driscoll, 1988). New schools may never be without crisis and conflict, but those that pay attention to teachers' needs may minimize some of the issues that led to high levels of turnover and dissatisfaction at Dewey and Whitehead. Program designers should consider structuring the school to enhance the "quality of work life" factors that have been shown to be important to teachers' work (Louis, 1991):

1. *A sense of respect from relevant adults both in and outside of the school:* The principal and/or lead teachers tend to bear the greatest responsibility for setting a tone of respect.
2. *Influence over decisions that affect teachers' work:* In new schools, this would mean an appropriate balance between teacher empowerment and administrative leadership.
3. *Opportunities for collaborative work:* In new schools, this would mean a focus on creating time for joint curriculum development, reflection, and problem solving.
4. *Opportunities to develop and use new skills:* In new schools, this would mean a serious consideration of what is being asked of teachers and the provision of systematic, developmental training to enhance those skills.
5. *Feedback on performance:* This is particularly critical where teachers are being asked to enact teaching roles that are unfamiliar. In the absence of feedback and coaching, teachers will not be able to develop these new teaching skills very effectively, may feel burned out, and may leave.
6. *Adequate resources:* In the case of new schools, the most critical resources are time and staff development money. Without these during the early implementation period, the most engaging environment may still result in burnout and turnover.

Will attending to these factors make a difference in new schools? Louis and Smith (1992) present case study data on new schools whose educational strategies were as unusual as in the two cases presented here but whose early years were more stable because of the emphasis placed on quality of work life by the initial design team and the administrator.

Overcoming the "liabilities of newness." If the above issues are attended to, it is reasonable to assume that some of the problems of trust and communication may be significantly reduced. In new schools, however, that may not be enough because they confront additional tensions that add to the press of schooling. It is not enough to have release time for teachers to take them out of the classroom. We would go so far as to assert that, unless the designers of new schools confront the problem of time very directly, the chances are that they will face the same problems documented here. Teachers must have time that is expressly allocated to the development of common agenda for the school and in which the development of professional culture and trusting personal relationships can occur. While administrators often argue that the time available within teacher contracts after school ought to be sufficient for this work, most teachers agree that their energies are at their lowest point when the children finally surge out the door.

Second, while organizers of new schools should ensure that the period of school planning includes more explicit attention to curriculum than occurs in many cases, they should at the same time constrain themselves from immediately expecting a full-blown, completely innovative curriculum. During the period of initial organization, it is important to devote energy simultaneously to borrowing and adapting existing curriculum materials and to planning the development over time of the new curriculum. Underlying this recommendation is the assumption that this curriculum should be created, at least in part, by those who will deliver it, given that "real time" curriculum development is often ineffective.

Third, new schools should plan for the socialization of members. Teachers thrown together during the first implementation year usually develop a profound sense of camaraderie. But schools typically pay little attention to how new recruits get to learn the culture and procedures of the school and assume that, once the locations of the bathrooms and the Xerox machine are pointed out, informal transmission of norms and procedures will be adequate. This omission is less significant when schools operate within a traditional model and are expected to be rather similar to one another. Thus it is not surprising that these new schools failed to consider that selecting and orienting new members are critical in the early stages of development. But many teachers who choose to work in a new school do so because of the opportunities to participate in forming a new school culture, and they may be dismayed if they find that the initial cohort of teachers has failed to consider how their ideas may contribute to the evolution of the school's mission and policies. The "socialization problem" is particularly relevant for new schools whose formation is phased by adding a new grade each year.

Finally, new schools should actively design teachers' roles as well as being flexible and experimental in instruction and curriculum content. Just as there are few operating models for the pedagogy of the future, designs for teacher roles are also both incomplete and poorly formulated. If the experiments of today are to pay off in alternative paradigms for effective schooling, teachers should engage in action research and reflective dialogue about their own roles as well as those of students and educational processes (Kemmis & McTaggert, 1988). While teachers in both new and restructuring schools are typically rather articulate in delineating the problems that they face in carrying out their jobs, we find that they are less effective in thinking about models for relieving the pressures and problems. Training and support in organizational design and leadership skills over the early implementation years could prove helpful.

Creating New Schools: Implications for Policy

What do new schools need to "make it"? The policy implications of the experiences of Dewey and Whitehead speak to the importance of creating a supportive district environment for new schools, acknowledging that they are, in fact, different from existing schools. This special treatment is contained in the following recommendations:

1. Openly and willingly provide start-up resources to new schools. To maintain that all schools deserve—or receive—equal treatment flies in the face of the case information presented. New schools minimally require funding to support their instructional mission, whether in the area of technology, performing arts, or urban education. Such funding must include support for training to use equipment or to implement novel curricula. But, in addition, new schools need resources to support individual teaching planning time, structured release time for collaborative planning and reflection, and special training to facilitate the school's development. This

might, for example, mean staff development to foster interdisciplinary teaming or site-based governance. Without training, there is no reason to assume such innovations will succeed.

2. Control access to new schools during their formative years (1-3). Although the value of good publicity cannot be denied, the experiences of Dewey and Whitehead suggest that it comes at a cost. During development, teachers may decide the school is not yet ready for visitors and they must be supported in their right to privacy. Once ready, faculty and administrators should decide when the public and the media are welcome to visit and then limit access otherwise. This can be accomplished by consistently assigning one person (e.g., the principal or a lead teacher) to give interviews, by sponsoring public events regularly during the year, and by setting up one standard time for tours (e.g., Tuesday mornings) and using students (as they do at Whitehead) as tour guides.
3. Exempt new schools from traditional accountability procedures during their formative years (1-3). Although a rational model suggests the importance of evaluation from the first day, such work must be structured to facilitate the work of teachers, not inhibit it. For this reason, we recommend that new schools engage in internal, in-house studies and that staff be assigned to this function. The results should feed into the ongoing cycle of reflection and planning to assist the process of organizational development in the new school. After 3 years at a minimum, benchmark data can be collected for use in a formal assessment at the end of 5 or 6 years, at which time the use of traditional accountability measures is appropriate. Test data demanded prior to that time are more likely to measure where students began than to suggest the effect of the new school.

Are new schools the answer to the problem of school reform? We cannot answer that question definitively, but two points are worth making. First, we have demonstrated the problems that new schools encounter and have argued that these are generic not only to schools but to all new organizations. Second, new schools are founded for a reason: Where there is an unfilled social need—

either for more of the same (new schools are needed because of population growth or increasing demands for education) or for something different (dissatisfaction with existing schools)—new organizations eventually will emerge.[3] Without extensive support, however, it seems unlikely that explicit policies to create new schools will effectively re-create systemic pressure for reform within the current public system. The fact that one of the schools (Whitehead) was initiated inside a district setting while the other (Dewey) emerged as a challenge from outside seems to have had little bearing on their development during the first few years.

Conclusion

Does the myth of Sisyphus apply to school reform? Are educators, like Sisyphus, doomed to an endless uphill challenge, to feel eternally unsuccessful at their tasks even when they are dedicated to reform? To our minds, the answer is no, because, unlike Sisyphus, we can learn from our experiences, although what we learn does not come in neat "how-to-do-it" packages. In examining the cases of Dewey and Whitehead, this chapter points to potential sticking points in the development of newly created schools and to their resolution. Planning, whether inside or outside a district, must ultimately involve those who will work in the school. The school day must include structured time for teachers to work together, to adapt or develop innovative curriculum, and to make collective sense of their evolving roles.

In addition, members of the school community—teachers, administrators, parents, and students—must consciously come together and work to develop trusting relationships. Finally, to the extent possible, the environmental pressures surrounding a new school must be managed to ensure sufficient time for the school's development. Accountability must take internal forms, resources must be identified, and media attention controlled so that teachers may bring to life the vision to which they committed themselves.

These are not simple requirements and they do not constitute a recipe for successful innovation. But, in the absence of these events, the creation of a new school may sadly reenact Sisyphus' daily struggle.

Notes

1. Some characteristics of the schools have been changed to preserve confidentiality. None of the changes alters the conclusions or basic data presented in the body of the chapter.

2. Stinchcomb assumed that the key external constituency is the customer or supplier, because in a private sector organization these groups control the flow of resources. In public education, however, resources are controlled by the school district and the school board.

3. This observation is relevant whether one operates under the assumptions of critical theory or functional theory. Functional theory argues that the needs of society determine the emergence of alternative forms of organization while critical theory argues that new forms arise because of contradictions and insupportable inadequacies in the older forms. Critical theorists assume considerable conflict over new organizational forms, an assumption supported by anecdotal evidence on charter schools in Minnesota (Smetanka, 1992).

References

Berman, P. (1981). Educational change: An implementation paradigm. In R. Lehming & M. Kane (Eds.), *Improving schools: Using what we know.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Bolman, L., & Deal, T. (1991). *Reframing organizations.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Bryk, A. S., & Driscoll, M. W. (1988). *The high school as community: Contextual influences and consequences for students and teachers.* Madison: University of Wisconsin—Madison, National Center on Effective Secondary Schools.

Crandall, D., Eiseman, J., & Louis, K. S. (1986, Summer). Strategic planning decisions that affect the success of school improvement efforts. *Educational Administration Quarterly,* pp. 21-53.

Firestone, W. (1976). Ideology and conflict in parent-run free schools. *Sociology of Education, 49,* 169-175.

Fullan, M. (1991). *The new meaning of educational change*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Kemmis, S., & McTaggert, R. (Eds.). (1988). *The action research planner* (3rd ed.). Deakin, Australia: Deakin University Press.

King, J. A., & Pechman, E. M. (1984). Pinning a wave to the shore: Conceptualizing evaluation use in school systems. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 6*, 241-251.

Lieberman, A., Darling-Hammond, L., & Zuckerman, D. (1991). *Early lessons in restructuring schools.* New York: Teachers College, National Center for Restructuring Education, Schools and Teaching.

Little, J. W. (1984). Norms of collegiality and experimentation: Conditions for school success. *American Educational Research Journal, 19*, 325-340.

Louis, K. (1991). *Teacher quality of work life, commitment and sense of efficacy: Results of a survey.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

Louis, K. (1992a). Restructuring and the problem of teachers' work. In A. Lieberman (Ed.), *The changing contexts of teaching: NSSE yearbook.* Chicago: National Society for the Study of Education (distributed by the University of Chicago Press).

Louis, K. S. (1992b, March 6). *Beyond bureaucracy: New ways of thinking about changing schools.* Paper delivered at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education conference, Restructuring Schools, Toronto.

Louis, K. S., & Miles, M. B. (1990). *Improving the urban high school: What works and why.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Louis, K. S., & Smith, B. (1992). Cultivating teacher engagement: Breaking the iron law of social class. In F. Newmann (Ed.), *Student engagement and achievement in American secondary schools.* New York: Teachers College Press.

March, J., & Olsen, J. (1976). *Ambiguity and organizational choice.* Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.

Metz, M., Hemmings, A., & Tyrie, A. (1988). *Phase I of the teacher working conditions study: Final report.* Madison, WI: Center for Effective Secondary Schools.

Moore, D., & Davenport, S. (1991). High school choice and students at risk. *Equity and Choice, 5*, 5-10.

Newmann, F. (1991). *Beyond common sense in educational restructuring: The issues of content and linkage.* Madison, WI: Center for Organization and Restructuring of Schools.

Pechman, E. M., King, J. A., Schack, G., & Van Dyke, N. (1990). *The greater New Orleans middle grades change project: Final report.* New Orleans, LA: Tulane University.

Perkins, D., Nieva, V., & Lawler, E. (1983). *Managing creation: The challenge of building a new organization.* New York: Wiley Interscience.

Rosenblum, S., & Louis, K. S. (1981). *Stability and change: Innovation in an educational context.* New York: Plenum.

Sarasen, S. (1982). *The culture of the school and the problem of change* (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Schön, D. (1987). *Educating the reflective practitioner.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Smetanka, M. J. (1992, March 16). Innovative charter schools are running into opposition. *Minneapolis Star Tribune,* p. 5A.

Stinchcomb, A. (1965). Social structure and organizations. In J. G. March (Ed.), *Handbook of organizations.* New York: Rand McNally.

Van de Ven, A. (1980). Early planning, implementation and performance of new organizations. In J. Kimberly & R. Miles (Eds.), *The organizational life cycle.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

10

Restructuring Schooling

Learning From Ongoing Efforts

JOSEPH MURPHY
PHILIP HALLINGER

In Chapter 1, we reported that our objective was to provide more grounded understandings of school restructuring—to move beyond discussions about transformational change and to discover what we could learn from longitudinal efforts at restructuring schools. The bulk of that work has now been completed. Considered individually, the eight cases provide powerful insights into the process of fundamental school reform. One task remains, however: to cull out important lessons from a consideration of these analyses as a whole. We tackle this assignment below in three ways. We begin by presenting a few general conclusions as a backdrop for later discussions. We then turn our attention to what these cases tell us about the appropriate focus of restructuring efforts. We conclude with an analysis of the support elements that facilitate efforts at transformational change.

General Notes on Restructuring

It is important to remind ourselves that, while these cases provide a good deal of useful information, restructuring is still a relatively new phenomenon. Considerably more work is needed, especially more "rich descriptions of efforts in progress" (Hallinger & Hausman, Chapter 5).

Restructuring schooling is a complex business. There are numerous entrance points into the restructuring game (e.g., teacher empowerment at Crestview—Chapter 7—and choice at Eastside—Chapter 5). In addition, most of the changes envisioned represent fundamentally new ways of doing business (Murphy, 1990a). It is not a matter simply of doing more of what we have been doing or of doing the same things better. Restructuring represents a deep change in education—not simply alterations in the forms and structures of schooling but fundamental reconfigurations of human interactions at every level of the educational enterprise. This point is eloquently conveyed in the teacher-generated definition of empowerment in the Short and Greer (Chapter 7) study: "a shared confidence in and recognition of each other and ourselves in a safe, healthy environment in which there are opportunities for growth and cooperative decision making." Finally, restructuring is complex because it legitimizes the role of local participants as policymakers: "Not only must a school and the teachers enter the relatively uncharted and turbulent waters of implementing . . . a restructuring policy but they must actually develop the policy itself" (Prestine, Chapter 2; see Murphy & Hallinger, 1984).

As these cases amply demonstrate, restructuring is also an interconnected business. As we discuss more fully below, it works best when activity occurs simultaneously on a number of fronts and when the highly interconnected, interdependent, and interrelated (Prestine, Chapter 2) nature of the parts is acknowledged.

Restructuring does not occur in a vacuum. Cohen (1989) reminds us that schools are covered with a good deal of organizational sediment and laced with considerable inherited guidance, two factors that exert influence over how change unfolds at the school level. Webb, Corbett, and Wilson (Chapter 8) demonstrate this reality quite dramatically in their multilevel analysis of a restructuring effort. Their findings bear repeating: The introduction of any reform "into schools will become part of a long history of innovative success and failure in that setting" and "restructuring simply cannot be understood without knowing the mix of beliefs and values into which initiatives are being inserted."

These earlier conclusions lead us logically to our next-to-last point: There is no single formula for restructuring.

> There is no silver bullet, no template that can be mapped out from one school's experience to serve for others. While there is an overall progression of development, each school's journey over the turbulent waters of restructuring, by necessity, will be different in important ways. (Prestine, Chapter 2)

Thus this book is organized around the belief that all stakeholders involved in restructuring would "benefit from contexualized descriptions of the experiences of schools and districts as they implement localized versions of school restructuring" (Hallinger & Hausman, Chapter 5). Therefore our discussion below focuses on general strategies and guidelines rather than prescriptions.

Given the difficulty of bringing large-scale reform to the educational enterprise and change—especially fundamental change—to individual schools, these cases convey a sense of hope about the possibilities of restructuring schooling. While thoroughly documenting the difficulties involved in these improvement projects, to borrow a line from McCarthy and Still (Chapter 3), we believe that they bear "witness to the fact that ordinary teachers, administrators, students, families, and community can achieve extraordinary results by working together with a unified vision of what school should be and a process for getting it there."

Focus

Based on the case studies described in this volume (supplemented by our own work in the area), four general guidelines emerge that can effectively help direct the focus of those at all levels who are involved in restructuring schools: Backward map restructuring efforts from the student; center on restructur*ing* (not restructured) schools; develop a school-specific approach; and work systemically.

Backward Map From the Student

Heading into our review of these case studies, we had come to two conclusions concerning the components of restructuring (see Figure 1.1, Chapter 1). First, of all the elements of the restructuring agenda (e.g., school-based management, choice, teacher empowerment), the learning-teaching piece was the one receiving the least amount of attention. Worse, the other elements were increasingly being treated as ends in themselves. Second, at neither the theoretical nor the conceptual levels was there much evidence to link these components of restructuring with changes in classrooms, relationships between teachers and students, and/or student outcomes. On the first issue, we are more heartened after examining the case studies in this volume. It is evident that, in a number of these restructuring efforts—particularly the more franchised ones (see Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 6)—there is a direct and primary focus on teaching and learning. For example, in the Success for All restructuring effort (Slavin et al., Chapter 4): The two essential principles are prevention and immediate, intensive intervention; the focus is on reading and early childhood curricula; a key strategy is one-to-one tutoring. On the second issue—the lack of connections between changing organizational and governance structures and student learning—these eight investigations reinforce our original conclusion. In particular, Fullan's review (Chapter 6) provides considerable additional evidence to those reformers who argue against assuming that education can be significantly improved by overhauling the infrastructure of schooling.

Other insights in this area are also important. The message from Louis and King (Chapter 9), in particular, must be heard:

> Radical restructuring that focuses on student experiences and does not directly attend to teachers' needs may generate conditions that inhibit collaboration, reflection, and dialogue, which reinforces the tendency to keep pushing the

> stone up the hill to meet the daily needs of students, irrespective of the painful sense of confusion and lack of progress.

Nor should we forget Prestine's (Chapter 2) conclusion that "changes in the governance and decision-making processes are the glue that holds together and supports the entire [restructuring] effort."

Taken together, the insights from the stories in this volume extend earlier conceptions of restructuring by backward mapping restructuring from the student (Murphy, 1991). While it remains true that the focus of restructuring should be on "rich conceptions of teaching and learning" (Murphy, 1991, p. 74), these cases refine our understanding of this principle. These rich conceptions of learning and teaching should be (a) based on a guiding set of principles, (b) grounded on constructivist views of learning, and (c) centered on a small number of important interventions. Specific changes in the core technology (e.g., cooperative learning, interdisciplinary curriculum, multiaged grouping) take on meaning primarily to the extent that they are so grounded. The other components of restructuring (e.g., how decisions are made, who performs what functions) should "wrap around" the core technology. Activities in these areas should flow from decisions about changes in the learning and teaching process. We agree with Fullan's (Chapter 6) conclusion:

> It is much more powerful and meaningful when teachers and administrators begin working in new ways only to discover that school structures must be altered than the reverse situation in which rapidly implemented new structures create confusion, ambiguity, and conflict ultimately leading to retrenchment.

Focus on Restructuring

There is a growing recognition that change is a process, a quest for improvement rather than a search for a final resting place (Fullan, 1991). The fact that, for schooling, "the prospect is for a continuous process of reconstruction" (Sirotnik, 1989, p. 104) is also being increasingly acknowledged. These lessons are richly interwoven throughout these eight case studies. The overall message is straightforward: Focus on restructur*ing* work, not on efforts to create a restructured school. We see this theme at Crestview (Short & Greer, Chapter 7), where faculty who originally saw the empowered school as a project to implement "learned to *reframe* their involvement as an 'opportunity' "—the opportunity to experiment—at Hollibrook (McCarthy & Still, Chapter 3), where transformations achieved were seen as a stage on a longer journey; and at Broadmoor (Prestine, Chapter 2), where staff learned through adversity that "change . . . is . . . continuous and seamless."

Develop School-Specific Approaches

A fundamental premise of constructivist perspectives of learning is that knowledge is contextualized. The corollary to this premise for restructuring-based views of school improvement (see Murphy, 1992) can be discerned in nearly all the cases contained herein: Reform efforts are also contextualized. A restructuring agenda must be tailored to the needs of a specific school; it must focus on what is important for that particular school community. As Prestine (Chapter 2) concludes, this means that "the paths taken in attempting to restructure . . . will be richly varied—reflective of the individual characteristics and unique contextual settings of the schools attempting such change." What works at one school may not work at another—or at the same school at a different time or with a cast of players with different values and interests (Webb et al., Chapter 8). Variations across schools do not so much represent deviations from a norm as they "reflect the realities of implementing . . . grass-roots innovation" (Hallinger & Hausman, Chapter 5). The lesson for those involved in restructuring is evident: Focus less on importing (and exporting) proven models and more on developing the capacity of individual school communities to craft restructuring agenda that fit their local situations.

Work Systemically

The final guideline gleaned from these case studies is that restructuring efforts should be systemic in nature. As Fullan (Chapter 6), Hallinger and Hausman (Chapter 5), and Louis and King (Chapter 9) reveal, at one level, this means that restructuring cannot be compartmentalized. Improvement efforts must unfold so that changes become woven into the basic fabric of the organization. According to Prestine (Chapter 2), this requires attending to all the important parts of the organization simultaneously as well as recognizing "the integrated [and] interactive . . . nature of the restructuring process." At a second level, working systemically means keeping one eye focused on the process issues of restructuring and the other on content matters (Short & Greer, Chapter 7). At still another level, it necessitates working to ensure greater coherence across "all levels of the educational system from the statehouse to the classroom" (Webb et al., Chapter 8), especially including the often overlooked layers such as the district office (see Fullan, Chapter 6; Short & Greer, Chapter 7). It means having the key participants using the same scorecard, communicating fewer messages about what is important throughout the system, and then focusing activity on those important issues. It requires a rational (not a bureaucratic) approach to improvement work that recognizes the importance of local context and mutual adaptation as well as the importance of each individual voice (see Louis & King, Chapter 9; McCarthy & Still, Chapter 3; Webb et al., Chapter 8). Finally, working systemically means bringing frames of analyses in line with belief structures (Murphy, 1989). In particular, it means redefining policymaking to recognize the centrality of stakeholders at the local school level (Murphy & Hallinger, 1984; Webb et al., Chapter 8).

Support

In addition to providing guidelines to focus restructuring efforts, these studies reveal a good deal about the support systems needed to facilitate fundamental school reform. As was true with the focus elements, there are implications for actors at all levels of the educational system in the discussion of elements that support restructuring at the school site: backing of key external constituencies, time, sufficient material resources, professional development, cross-fertilization, trust, working structures, and legitimization. We discuss each in turn below.

Backing of Key External Constituencies

> The policy implications of the experiences of Dewey and Whitehead speak to the importance of creating a supportive district environment for new schools, acknowledging that they are, in fact, different from existing schools. (Louis & King, Chapter 9)

> For essential schools restructuring to succeed, the larger organizational configuration of the school district has to present an amenable and congenial environment for these changes, and the superintendent is a key player in determining this "fit." (Prestine, Chapter 2)

It becomes increasingly obvious as one works one's way through these case studies that a good deal of environmental support will be required if school restructuring is to have a fighting chance. As the authors of these reports disclose, such support can—and must—come from a variety of sources: school boards, teacher unions, superintendents and other district administrators, community leaders, and externally based facilitators. While not all actors need to actively endorse the restructuring agenda of the school, there does appear to be a necessary critical mass of support. As Slavin and his colleagues (Chapter 4) demonstrate, where such support exists, it provides a powerful stabilizing force. Where it is absent, it places a tremendous burden on internal support mechanisms: "When district support is questionable the principal must be willing . . . to stand up for the program and make it work." Unfortunately, Louis and King (Chapter 9) show that overcoming the absence of external support may be a task that schools that are simultaneously engaged in fundamental reforms are unable to perform successfully.

The reader also gleans from these investigations a sense that not all sources of assistance are equal, that some forms help schools achieve a critical mass of support more quickly than do others. Specifically, the role of the superintendent is highlighted throughout these cases. Comparing those schools where such support was forthcoming (e.g., Broadmoor in Prestine, Chapter 2; Hollibrook in McCarthy & Still, Chapter 3) with those where it was not (e.g., the Success for All Schools, after Superintendent Pinderhughes was replaced, in Slavin et al., Chapter 4; Dewey in Louis & King, Chapter 9) provides important information about how superintendents facilitate restructuring efforts at the site level. To begin with, the superintendent in his or her gatekeeping role can quickly legitimize, or call into question, reform efforts. An especially poignant, positive example of this occurred at Abbottston Elementary School (Slavin et al., Chapter 4), where Superintendent Pinderhughes's presence on the first day of training sent a clear message to the school community—and to the district bureaucracy—that Success for All, even though operating at times outside of normal procedures, was deemed to be an important and approved activity. As the authors throughout this volume chronicle, affirmation that restructuring schools can act differently than other schools and/or outside the standard district policy and regulatory framework seems to be critical—especially when there is "tension between district policies for schools in general and (where they clash) policies for [restructuring] schools" (Slavin et al., Chapter 4). As McCarthy and Still (Chapter 3) discovered at Hollibrook, such approval permitted the staff "to bend the rules where they needed to be bent." And Louis and King's work suggests that there are a number of places (e.g., student assessment) where restructuring schools can benefit from such flexibility.

Superintendents are also ideally positioned to provide political support and protection to schools engaged in fundamental reform efforts. Because others inside and outside of the school system often take their lead from the superintendent, the presence (or absence) of visible support is likely both to color how others view the reform experiment and to determine whether they, in turn, act in a supportive, neutral, or hostile manner. Political support comes in many forms in these cases. At Broadmoor (Prestine, Chapter 2), for example, it came largely by having the superintendent sell the essential schools philosophy to various constituents—by building a "core network of relations" that would be there to help buffer the school from any backlash to unanticipated events.

Finally, superintendents are in a unique position to ensure that sufficient tangible resources flow to restructuring schools. They do this in a general way by signaling—or by not signaling, in the case of Dewey (Louis & King, Chapter 9)—that special projects require special funding at times. They do it in more specific ways by helping schools secure resources for reform activities at the school level, as was the case in the area of professional development in the Learning Consortium schools (Fullan, Chapter 6).

Time

> A great deal can be done to assist other schools to improve their efforts, such as providing training in team building and process skills. Unlike the experience of Saul on the road to Damascus, however, miraculous conversions into insightful understanding should not be expected. Schools' past histories, understandings, and beliefs will not be effortlessly eradicated, nor will recalcitrant teachers be magically transformed into malleable material, nor will obdurate administrators be suddenly enlightened into wisdom. The process of essential schools restructuring must be understood as one that will be long, difficult, and painful and one in which each school must, to a large extent, find its own way. (Prestine, Chapter 2)

The eight analyses presented herein reinforce findings from earlier work in the area of restructuring that found time to be a critical factor in the process of bringing about fundamental school improvement. More important, they provide a deeper understanding of this support variable, emphasizing four of its aspects. The first dimension is noted in the Prestine passage quoted above: Real reform will take an extensive amount of time. People at the school level involved in restructuring must operate with this understanding. Stakeholders at the state and district levels, in turn, must build policy and assessment strategies from this perspective. Some specific guidelines in this area emerge from the cases: Louis and King (Chapter 9) recommend that planning and implementation occur over a *minimum* 3-year period. So do Short and Greer (Chapter 7).

Broadmoor (Prestine, Chapter 2) employed a 5-year plan. And McCarthy and Still (Chapter 3) maintain that "it will take a period of approximately 6 years for the full transformation of a traditional school into an Accelerated School."

A second lesson concerning time is that transformational change efforts require a good deal of preparation or start-up time. In general, considerable time will need to be devoted both to understanding current operations (e.g., "taking stock" at Hollibrook—McCarthy & Still, Chapter 3) and to allow for the development of common perspectives or a unified vision. Based on these cases, a yearlong planning process—with time for lengthy discussions and analysis—seems a desirable goal.

A third time-related theme is that the pool of available time needs to be expanded. Because time is needed for learning new roles, personalizing schooling, working with new constituents, and so forth (Murphy, 1991), schools involved in restructuring endeavors will need additional time to do reform work. The principal at Eastside (Hallinger & Hausman, Chapter 5) captures it nicely: " 'You need to give time to people, and you can't necessarily reimburse people in terms of money. . . . It's got to be time during the school day,' " or, we would add, during the summer. The stories chronicled in this volume suggest that time can be expanded by adding to the total time pool available (e.g., providing time for retreats before the school year begins) and/or by reconfiguring the school day or teacher tasks to reduce the load on staff (e.g., providing an extra preparation period, grouping students differently to provide development time for teachers).

The final dimension of time illustrated in these eight studies is cooperative work time. As Louis and King (Chapter 9) document: "Teachers must have time that is expressly allocated to the development of common agenda for the school and in which the development of professional culture and trusting personal relationships can occur." The authors of these chapters thus provide guidance for how expanded time for planning and work should be spent—by teachers working collaboratively. Specific examples are richly detailed throughout these cases: common planning times for same-grade-level or team-based teachers; work sessions and retreats for teachers, administrators, and parents to assess school operations; regularly scheduled, cooperatively oriented professional development activities.

Sufficient Material Resources

> The provision or nonprovision of these needed resources can have dramatic effects on the success of restructuring efforts. (Murphy, 1991, p. 93)

Resources required for restructuring take a variety of forms. One that has received considerable scrutiny in the school improvement literature over the years has been that of material resources. The investigations reported in this volume shed some new insights on the importance of such resources in attempts to restructure schooling. Their primary message is that such assistance is most valuable when it is channeled into two other important support areas—time and professional development (see especially Fullan, Chapter 6; Louis & King, Chapter 9).

A second lesson concerning material resources is that, while additional funding can be of real assistance (e.g., the Success for All schools—Slavin et al., Chapter 4), it is not imperative (e.g., Accelerated Schools—McCarthy & Still, Chapter 3; the Learning Consortium—Fullan, Chapter 6). The question of how much money—usually expressed in terms of additional funding—is desirable is still open and is likely never to be answered outside the context of specific reform initiatives.

These investigations also reveal that there usually are periods in the life cycle of restructuring projects when infusions of additional material resources can exert a significant influence. For example, start-up funds, even small amounts, were of critical importance in many of the eight cases in this volume. Other influential life cycle periods were more contextualized, such as the securing of a grant to facilitate the development of whole language instruction at Crestview (Short & Greer, Chapter 7) and the collection of materials from the community to stock the miniature grocery store at Hollibrook (McCarthy & Still, Chapter 3). These analyses also demonstrate that the amount of total support is less significant than the ability of the school to map resources onto the school vision and plan.

The general message in this area is twofold. Policymakers at the state and district levels need to be attentive to issues of funding for restructuring schooling. Given that the real costs of staff development and time are often decoupled from discussions of additional funding, these stakeholders should be leery of claims that restructuring education is largely a budget-neutral proposition. At the same time, these cases show that even small amounts of additional resources that are well integrated with a school's vision can have dramatic effects on the structure and process of schooling. Schools are ill-advised to wait for large infusions of funds before exploring school restructuring.

Professional Development

> Many advocates for new schools seem to overlook the fact that starting a new organization entails high levels of strain for the adults who work in them and, in the absence of attention to the development of human resources, these demands may obstruct the goals of reform. (Louis & King, Chapter 9)

Throughout the chapters in this volume, we see that professional development is a key factor explaining why some restructuring initiatives work as well as they do and why others are not as robust as they might be. The unmistakable conclusion in this area is that considerable attention must be devoted to the development of human resources in schools undertaking transformational reforms. Particular efforts will need to be made to ensure that professional development activities are integrated with the local reform agenda rather than remaining a freestanding set of activities as is often the case in today's schools (Murphy, 1987). These stories also demonstrate that professional development will be effective to the extent that it centers on opportunities for staff members to work collaboratively on an ongoing basis. In many ways, these cases help extend the definition of professional development appropriate for restructuring schools—from that of a passive consumer activity to active "engage[ment] in action research and reflective dialogue" (Louis & King, Chapter 9), from a receptive event to a constructive activity, and from an individual event to a collaborative endeavor.

These chapters highlight three types of professional development, calling for training that helps teachers (a) implement the changes in classroom activities that should guide other restructuring work, (b) receive and give feedback as they try out new interventions in their classrooms, and (c) learn the skills needed to work in a restructuring school. These studies make their most important contribution in providing a deeper understanding in this third area.

In general, these case studies paint a picture of school communities that are unprepared to engage in the active, collaborative task of managing a restructured school and that are unfamiliar and uneasy with the new roles that this work entails. They direct attention to the importance of capacity building across an array of interrelated process areas. To begin with, because fundamental change increases "stress on all participants, particularly when trust and time are in short supply" (Hallinger & Hausman, Chapter 5), helping school staffs learn "about the traumas of change and paradigm shifts" (McCarthy & Still, Chapter 3) becomes important. Also, because, as Fullan (Chapter 6) observes, increased cooperation enhances the potential for conflict, skills in conflict management are in great demand in schools engaged in serious improvement efforts.

In restructured schools, a premium is placed on communication. Yet, as Short and Greer (Chapter 7) and other contributors to this volume report, many educators do not demonstrate good communication skills. These authors show repeatedly that schools involved in complex reform projects would do well to attend to this issue. Other collaborative skills—group process, planning, and decision-making skills—are also of critical importance in systemic reform efforts. Again, however, our authors report that staff members in these studies were often ill-prepared for interactive work with other adults (see also Murphy, 1990b). For example, Louis and King (Chapter 9) found that teachers in their study "were consumed with the immediate crises of lurching from day to day" and that their group process skills were poor, "resulting in a great deal of wasted time in staff meetings." In addition, McCarthy's and Still's (Chapter 3) work demonstrates that "most teachers have not received training in leadership" and are therefore poorly prepared "to assume [such] responsibility outside of the classroom." Training in all these skill areas—in what Louis and King call "organizational design"—is needed if school restructuring efforts are to be given a chance.

Finally, dexterity in what McCarthy and Still (Chapter 3) refer to as collaborative inquiry—a combination of personal reflection and organizational analysis—is conspicuous by its absence in the skill arsenals of many teachers and administrators in these cases. The tools needed to operate as a learning organization will not magically appear at schools engaged in restructuring activities. The potential for confusion and mistrust is large. Without training in the types of process skills discussed above, "there is no reason to assume [restructuring] innovations will succeed" (Louis & King, Chapter 9).

Cross-Fertilization

> We visit even our most experienced schools at least twice a year and invite their facilitators and principals to an annual conference in Baltimore, primarily to maintain a support network. Isolated outposts of innovation rarely survive, but, with continuing support from a national or regional network, effective innovations can thrive even in inhospitable environments. (Slavin et al., Chapter 4)

One particular type of organizational development that is interwoven throughout these eight case studies—the cross-fertilization of ideas—deserves special attention because of its relative absence in the general literature on restructuring schooling. What we mean by *cross-fertilization* is the ability of staff from one site to work with and learn from exchanges with teachers and administrators from other schools engaged in restructuring projects. A number of the investigators in this volume chronicle the importance of these interactions in fostering the development of improvement efforts. Indeed, in some instances (e.g., Broadmoor—Prestine, Chapter 2; Crestview—Short & Greer, Chapter 7), such interactions appear to be critical factors. For example, according to Prestine, the "clarity of understanding and the ability to articulate the essential schools philosophy in the context of Broadmoor can be explained in part by the large proportion of the faculty that has attended Trek and other coalition-sponsored workshop sessions."

This cross-fertilization of ideas can appear in a variety of forms. At both Broadmoor and Crestview, some school-based staff (and the district superintendent) participated in pre-planning year activities with a number of other interested schools. This sharing of ideas continued for staff in these schools through their attendance at summer workshops. Short and Greer inform us that these sessions were significant in the life of the Crestview project because, as "it became clear that all schools had some degree of difficulty making changes, . . . these gatherings allowed participants to learn from each other." The development of structures that brought staff into regular contact with educators outside the school throughout the project is a third example of cross-fertilization in these reports. At the Success for All (Slavin et al., Chapter 4) and the Learning Consortium (Fullan, Chapter 6) schools, the use of university-based facilitators is one mechanism that fostered regular exchanges between school staff and external agents. At Crestview (Short & Greer, Chapter 7), staff members made visits to other Danforth schools and were, in turn, visited by staff from those schools. These exchanges were important because they permitted the teachers "to discover that the process of change in their school was similar to the challenges being experienced elsewhere." Finally, maintenance conferences, such as the annual Success for All meeting, are a particularly useful cross-fertilization vehicle for facilitating the long-term continuation of support.

We were surprised to find the cross-fertilization of ideas so prominently portrayed in these cases. While such support seems to be less critical than the allocation of time for collaborative work or the enthusiastic assistance of the superintendent, it nonetheless appears to be important in many situations. Those engaged in restructuring efforts, especially in endeavors that are not affiliated with a larger reform network such as the Learning Consortium or Accelerated Schools, would be well advised to craft strategies within their restructuring plans that allow for this cross-fertilization of information to occur on a systematic basis.

Trust

> The Accelerated Schools Process necessitates new ways of doing things in schools and creates an initial period of role ambiguity and conflict. The empowerment of teachers creates conflicting expectations for behavior. Teachers are suddenly thrust from the safe isolation of their classrooms into the larger world of the school. There is much confusion about what decisions they can and should make. (McCarthy & Still, Chapter 3)

A theme evident across these cases is that "members of the school community—teachers, administrators, parents, and students—must consciously come together and work to develop trusting relationships" (Louis & King, Chapter 9). This is a difficult assignment even under normal circumstances. It is especially problematic in school restructuring for four reasons. First, in many schools, trust has become a structural phenomenon. It is found in labor contracts, administrative regulations, and operating procedures. In restructuring schools, however, trust needs to be less structural and more relational. Unfortunately, the connecting tissue that allows these relationships to be energized is disturbingly thin in many schools and across levels in most districts. Second, in restructuring, most of the rules of the game change and many teachers and administrators see themselves as potential losers in the redefined game (Hallinger, Murphy, & Hausman, 1992; Murphy, Evertson, & Radnofsky, 1991). Third, "restructuring is difficult, risky business" (Prestine, Chapter 2). It "necessitates new ways of doing things in schools" (McCarthy & Still, Chapter 3). As is evident in nearly all the stories in this book, restructuring generally creates confusion, conflict, and ambiguity—hardly conditions under which attempts to nurture the growth of trust will flourish. Finally, restructuring entails risk and risk means that failure is a distinct possibility. The right to experiment and fail has never been a part of the culture of schooling in this country. Introducing this norm into schools is more likely to result in finger-pointing and recriminations than in the development of a trusting climate.

At the same time, trust is often portrayed as a bedrock condition for successful restructuring (Murphy, 1991), especially trust between the principal and the teaching staff (Smylie, 1992). It is also evident that, given the set of dynamics described above, trust will not evolve naturally. Indeed, as many of these cases reveal, it is often difficult to develop trust even when this goal is attended to consciously. The lesson for restructuring schools is that the development of trust must be addressed directly, often, and regularly, especially in forums that strengthen personal relationships among staff members.

Working Structures

> After the struggle with defining empowerment, the school moved rapidly to create a process for restructuring. The Empowerment Committee, with specific goals, objectives, and timelines, was developed to coordinate the involvement of faculty. Later, a Problem-Solving Committee was formed to address concerns of individual faculty. The school facilitator served as a problem framer for much of the project. She consulted with the principal and teachers on various issues surrounding the empowerment process and specific problems of student empowerment. (Short & Greer, Chapter 7)

As Hallinger and Hausman (Chapter 5) discern, "If important decisions about educational programs [are] to be decentralized to the school level, there needs to be a structure and process in place . . . to ensure that these decisions [are] made in a participatory manner," and, we would add, to ensure that the complex work of restructuring is conscientiously addressed. Well-developed working structures represent an important support mechanism in all of the cases in this volume. The subthemes in this area are as follows: (a) There is no universally appropriate working structure. What is required or useful at one site (e.g., the Marketing Task Force at

Hollibrook—McCarthy & Still, Chapter 3) may be unnecessary at another; (b) it is desirable to have extensive overlap of personnel on the structures used for planning and for implementing the reform agenda (see especially Louis & King, Chapter 9); (c) some type of schoolwide steering committee (e.g., the School Leadership Council at Eastside—Hallinger & Hausman, Chapter 5; the Alliance Planning Committee at Broadmoor—Prestine, Chapter 2) helps bring coherence to the overall restructuring agenda; (d) the use of a coordinator or facilitator (e.g., the theme facilitator at Eastside) can significantly sharpen the focus of reform activities while reducing reliance on formal administrative channels; and (e) maintaining the stability of these working structures can greatly enhance their effectiveness.

Legitimization

> The second year of the project began with a great deal of enthusiasm. That feeling was reinforced when several teachers from another school district came to visit Crestview Elementary School. (Short & Greer, Chapter 7)

A final form of support enjoyed by these restructuring schools was regular acknowledgment for the work they were doing, a legitimization of their labors. While Louis and King (Chapter 9) alert us to the dangers of excessive publicity—the draining of "needed energies" and the creation of "a fishbowl environment not conducive to growth"—in most of these cases, a reasonable level of external affirmation bolstered locally based reform initiatives. Types of legitimization vary across the sites. The most important are those that recognize staff expertise and those that help educators become "critical consumers of research and practice in the wider arena of provincial, national, and international deliberations" (Fullan, Chapter 6).

Four general categories of external acknowledgment are discernable in these cases: recognition and visibility from the media (as at Abbottston—Slavin et al., Chapter 4); participation in forums where teachers share what they are learning with others in formal presentations (as the Hollibrook teachers did—McCarthy & Still, Chapter 3); opportunities to work with colleagues from other schools (as did the "skill coaches" in the Learning Consortium schools—Fullan, Chapter 6); and/or acting as a learning laboratory for educators from other schools (as was the case at Abbottston). Internally, legitimization comes to individuals when site-based peers begin to look to them for expertise (as did the colleagues of the Hollibrook teacher who had become an expert on cooperative learning) and when managing the restructuring process taps hidden strengths and talents.

Conclusion

We began this volume by noting that, while much had been written about school restructuring, the signposts were mainly conceptual in nature. Very little empirical work was available to enlighten practitioners and academics—and policymakers in both areas—as they began to engage in transformational reform initiatives themselves. Of the empirical work that was available, almost none of it was longitudinal in nature. We believe that with this volume we have begun the process of addressing these gaps in the literature. The authors of the eight case studies presented herein have provided richly detailed, longitudinal analyses of restructuring efforts. These initiatives employ a variety of strategies and are located in diverse settings throughout the United States and Canada. Given the contextualized nature of school improvement in general and of school restructuring in particular, it would be inappropriate to search these cases for a definitive answer to the riddle of successful change. On the other hand, the authors of these reports do offer considerable guidance about how to make the restructuring process work. This concluding chapter presented a summary of that advice, including what these analysts suggest about the focus of restructuring and the conditions that support fundamental school reform.

References

Cohen, D. K. (1989, May). *Can decentralization or choice improve public education?* Paper presented at the conference, Choice and

Control in American Education, University of Wisconsin—Madison.

Fullan, M. G. (1991). *The new meaning of educational change* (2nd ed.) New York: Teachers College Press.

Hallinger, P., Murphy, J., & Hausman, C. (1992, August). Restructuring schools: Principals' perceptions of fundamental educational reform. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 28*(3), 330-349.

Murphy, J. (1987, September). Teacher evaluation: A comprehensive framework for supervisors. *Journal of Personnel Evaluation in Education, 1*(2), 157-180.

Murphy, J. (1989, Fall). Educational reform in the 1980s: Explaining some surprising success. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 11*(3), 209-223.

Murphy, J. (1990a). The educational reform movement of the 1980s: A comprehensive analysis. In J. Murphy (Ed.), *The reform of American public education in the 1980s: Perspectives and cases* (pp. 3-55). Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Murphy, J. (1990b, September-October). Helping teachers prepare to work in restructured schools. *Journal of Teacher Education, 41*(4), 50-56.

Murphy, J. (1991). *Restructuring schools: Capturing and assessing the phenomena*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Murphy, J. (1992). School effectiveness and school restructuring: Contributions to educational improvement. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 3*(2), 1-20.

Murphy, J., Evertson, C., & Radnofsky, M. (1991, November). Restructuring schools: Fourteen elementary and secondary teachers' proposals for reform. *Elementary School Journal, 92*(2), 135-148.

Murphy, J., & Hallinger, P. (1984, Spring). Policy analysis at the local level: A framework for expanded investigation. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 6*(1), 5-13.

Sirotnik, K. A. (1989). The schools as the center of change. In T. J. Sergiovanni & J. H. Moore (Eds.), *Schooling for tomorrow: Directing reforms to issues that count* (pp. 89-113). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Smylie, M. A. (1992, Spring). Teacher participation in school decision making: Assessing willingness to participate. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analyses, 14*(1), 53-67.

Author Index

Adam, E., 159
American Association of Educators in Private Practice, 11
Ascher, C., 159

Bacharach, S. B., 57
Banathy, B. H., 5, 13
Bartels, D., 69
Barth, R. S., 3, 18
Bates, R. J., 18
Beach, S. A., 2, 3, 4
Beare, H., 5, 10, 21, 22
Beck, L. G., 7, 17, 18
Begley, P., 140
Bennett, B., 149, 159
Berman, P., 220
Biklin, S., 170
Bogdan, R., 170
Bolman, L., 221
Boyd, W. L., 10, 18, 21, 22
Bragg, V., 21
Bransford, J. D., 4, 12, 13, 14
Broadmoor Implementation Grant Application, 45
Broadmoor Implementation Year Report, 42, 50
Broadmoor Planning Year Report, 37, 51
Brophy, J., 13
Brown, J. S., 12
Bryk, A. S., 242

Carnegie Council for Adolescent Development, 6
Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 5, 16, 140
Carver, S. M., 14
Chapman, J., 18
Chubb, J. E., 9, 165, 166

287

Clark, D. L., 5, 17, 18
Clift, R. T., 66
Clune, W. H., 9
Cohen, D. K., 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 252
Cohen, M., 4
Collins, A., 12, 14
Combs, A. W., 5
Conley, D. T., 2, 18
Conway, J. A., 15
Corbett, H. D., 161, 203
Council of Chief State School Officers, 4
Cousins, B., 140
Crandall, D., 221
Crow, G., 114, 137, 138
Cuban, L., 5, 117, 165, 166
Cunningham, L. L., 19
Cusick, P. A., 5

Darling-Hammond, L., 159, 225
Davenport, S., 227
David, J. L., 4, 15, 137, 145
Deal, T., 221
Denny, J. W., 16
Dolan, L., 86, 91, 92
Driscoll, M. W., 242
Duguid, P., 12
Dunlap, D. M., 2, 18

Easton, J., 145, 162
Edwards, M., 137
Eiseman, J., 221
Ekholm, M., 57
Elmore, R. F., 3, 5, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 162
Evertson, C., 4, 7, 15, 267

Farnish, A. M., 88
Farrar, E., 6
Fenstermacher, G. D., 22
Fink, D., 154, 157, 159
Firestone, W. A., 57, 203, 221
Fisher, C. W., 13, 14
Fiske, E., 114
Foster, W., 18
Franks, J. J., 13
Fullan, M. G., 34, 57, 117, 144, 145, 147, 149, 152, 159, 160, 162, 163, 221, 255

Gallagher, K. S., 6
Gilmore, M., 13
Giroux, H. A., 5
Goldman, P., 2, 18
Goldman, S. R., 4, 12, 13, 14
Goldring, E. B., 18, 19, 114, 137
Good, T., 212
Goodchild, S., 21
Greenfield, T. B., 57
Greer, J. T., 165
Guthrie, J. W., 5, 7, 9, 21

Hackman, J. R., 166
Hall, G. E., 146
Hallinger, P., 17, 18, 21, 114, 137, 140, 144, 252, 257, 267
Hargreaves, A., 162
Harlow, J. G., 18
Hausman, C., 144, 267
Hawkins, J., 14
Hawley, W. D., 14
Hemmings, A., 235
Hodgkinson, H. L., 6
Holland, P., 66
Holmes Group, 16
Honetschlager, D., 4
Honig, B., 3
Hopfenberg, W. S., 65, 66, 69, 79
Hord, S., 146
Hoy, W. L., 165
Huberman, A. M., 170
Huberman, M., 57
Hutchins, C. L., 12

Illinois Alliance of Essential Schools, 36

Jacobson, S. L., 15
Jenkins, K., 165
Jermier, J., 17
Johnson, M., 66

Karweit, N. L., 85, 86, 91, 92
Kemmis, S., 245
Kerchner, C. T., 10
Kerr, C., 5
Kerr, S., 17
King, J. A., 237, 238
Kirst, M. W., 5, 6, 19
Knapp, M. S., 13, 14
Kranz, J., 20

Langer, E. J., 13
Lawler, E., 221
Lawler, E. E., III, 166
LeGrand, B., 13
Leithwood, K. A, 18, 114, 137, 139, 140
Lessons from the trenches, 34, 50
Levin, H. M., 65, 66, 69, 79
Lieberman, A., 165, 225
Lightfoot, S. L., 165, 166
Little, J. W., 230
Lortie, D. C., 16
Lotto, L. S., 13
Louis, K., 159, 160, 230, 235, 242
Louis, K. S., 17, 220, 221, 236, 241, 243

Madden, N. A., 85, 86, 88, 91, 92
Maehr, M. L., 12
Maeroff, G. I., 165, 166
Malen, B., 20, 22
Manz, C. C., 166
March, J., 221
Marshall, H. H., 4, 21
Massell, D., 6, 19
McCarthey, S. J., 2, 4, 14, 16
McCarthy, J., 66, 79
McCarthy, R., 50
McCaslin, M., 212
McDaniel, R. R., 17
McDill, E. L., 65
McDonnell, L., 188
McLaughlin, M., 6, 19
McNeil, L. M., 9
McTaggert, R., 245
Means, B., 13, 14
Meister, G., 65, 69
Meloy, J. M., 5, 17, 18
Metz, M., 235
Midgley, C., 12
Miles, M., 57, 159, 160, 170
Miles, M. B., 17, 57, 220, 236, 241
Miller, L., 165
Mitchell, B., 5
Mitchell, D. E., 2, 3, 4
Mitman, A., 17
Moe, T., 165, 166
Moore, D., 227
Murphy, J., 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 57, 114, 137, 144, 252, 255, 256, 257, 261, 262, 263, 264, 267, 268

National Commission on Excellence in Education, 5
National Governors' Association, 9
Natriello, G., 65
Newmann, F. M., 2, 13, 14, 230
Nieva, V., 221

O'Day, J., 3, 189
Ogawa, R. T., 20, 22
Oldham, G. R., 166
Olsen, J., 221

Pallas, A., 65
Pascale, R. T., 160
Passow, A. H., 6
Patton, M. Q., 170
Pechman, E. M., 237, 238

Perkins, D. N., 7, 13, 15, 221
Peterson, P. L., 2, 4, 14, 16
Petrie, H. G., 13, 14
Pitner, N. J., 17
Polkinghorn, R., 69
Powell, A. G., 6
Prestine, N. A., 4, 12, 34, 50, 54
Prospectus, 33
Pullin, D. C., 5
Putnam, S., 146

Quality Education for Minorities Project, 6

Radnofsky, M., 4, 267
Rallis, S. F., 15, 16
Rogers, J., 65, 69
Rolheiser-Bennett, C., 149
Rosenblum, S., 221
Rossman, G., 203
Rowley, S., 146

Sarasen, S., 221
Sarason, S., 203
Schack, G., 238
Schlechty, P. C., 12, 14
Schmidt, P., 11
Schön, D., 230
Sedlak, M. W., 5
Seeley, D. S., 14
Sergiovanni, T. J., 17, 18
Sezener, D., 47
Sherwood, R. D., 13
Short, P. M., 165
Shuell, T. J., 4, 12
Sims, H. P., Jr., 166
Sirotnik, K. A., 255
Sizer, T. R., 9, 15, 33, 50
Slavin, R. E., 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 92
Smetanka, M. J., 248
Smith, B., 243
Smith, M. S., 3, 189
Smylie, M. A., 16, 268
Spady, W. G., 14
Stevens, R. J., 88
Stinchcomb, A., 221, 224, 225
Stoll, L., 154, 157, 159
Sykes, G., 16

Taylor, D., 144
Teddlie, C., 144
Timar, T., 214
Tindal, G., 4
Traiman, S., 4
Tyack, D., 2, 4, 6, 117
Tyrie, A., 235

Vandenberghe, R., 137, 138
Van de Ven, A., 221
Van Dyke, N., 238
Vye, N. J., 4, 12, 13, 14

Wagstaff, L. H., 6
Walberg, H. J., 10
Walsh, M., 10
Warren, D., 6
Wasik, B. A., 86, 91, 92
Watson, N., 149, 152, 160, 163
Watt, J., 20
Weick, K. E., 17
Weindling, D., 139
Weiss, C., 144
Wheeler, C. W., 5
White, P. A., 4, 9
Wilson, B., 161
Wise, A. E., 16

Zielinski, A. E., 165
Zuckerman, D., 225
Zywine, J., 159

Subject Index

Abbottston Elementary School (Baltimore), ix, 85, 90, 91, 93-99, 101, 259, 269, 270
Accelerated schools, viii, ix, 4, 63-82, 261, 262, 267
Accelerated Schools Process, 64, 65-66, 69, 71, 73, 81, 267; assessing the, 78-81
Accelerated School Project, 79
Alternative schools, 10, 221, 236
American Association of Educators in Private Practice (AAEPP), 11
America 2000, 217

Baltimore City Public Schools, 84, 85, 91, 99
Broadmoor Junior High School (Pekin, Illinois), ix, 34, 35-60, 256, 259, 261, 266, 269; early restructuring efforts at, 36-41; evidence of substantive change at, 41-49; Excellent Adventure project at, 52; overview of 5-year implementation plan at, 43

Charter school movement, 10
Charter schools, 11, 217, 222, 248
Chicago Reform Act of 1989, 145, 162
City Springs School (Baltimore), 92
Coalition of Essential Schools, viii, 32, 33, 36, 37, 54; Fall Forum of, 44; Nine Common Principles of, 32-33, 38, 50
Crestview Elementary School (southern U.S.), ix, 166, 252, 256, 262, 266, 269; and the Empowered School District Project, 168-186

Dallas Nicholas Elementary (Baltimore), 93, 99-106

Danforth Foundation project, 173, 181, 266

Dr. Bernard Harris Elementary (Baltimore), 93, 106-110

Dufferin-Peel Board of Education (Ontario, Canada), 150, 152, 163

Durham Board of Education (Ontario, Canada), 148, 149, 151, 152

Education: marketization of, 9-11

Educational Alternatives (for-profit firm), 11

Educational industry: privatization of, 9

Educational stakeholders, 221; administrators as, 12, 16-18; parents as, 12, 18-19; redefining roles of, 9, 12-19; students as, 12-14; teachers as, 12, 14, 15-16

Embry, R., 84

Empowered School District Project, ix, 166-186; objectives of, 166-167

Empowerment: definition of, 165, 252; restructuring schools through, 165-186, 252

Essential Schools, ix, 4, 32-60; reasons for success of, 49-57

Essential schools restructuring, 32, [illegible]4

Frontenac Elementary School (Halton, Ontario), ix, 155, 157

Halton School Board (Ontario, Canada), 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154-160

Hettleman, K., 84, 85

Hollibrook Accelerated Elementary School (Houston), ix, 63-82, 256, 259, 261, 262, 269, 270; family involvement and, 70; the community and, 70-71, 82

Illinois Alliance of Essential Schools, 35, 39

Johns Hopkins University, 84, 93, 99, 100, 107, 112

Joplin Plan, 87

Learning Consortium (Toronto), ix, 143, 147-154, 156, 157, 160, 161, 162, 260, 262, 266, 267, 270; cooperative learning and, 149-150; impact of outside ideas and resources and, 151; increased professional devlopment capacity in the system and, 151; instructional strategies of, 150; model of professional development as a continuing process, 151; school-based staff development and, 150-151; supporting beginning teachers and, 150; systemwide linkage among different programs and, 151-152; work of, 149-154

Levin, H. M., 64

Magnet schools, 11, 121, 124-125, 220

Miami-Dade County Schools, 117

North York Board of Education (Ontario, Canada), 148, 150, 151, 152, 153

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 148

Pinderhughes, A., 84, 94, 110, 111, 259

Private contractors, role of in schools, 10-11

Re: Learning Project, 4, 35

Restructuring, school: administrators' roles in, 16-18; backward map from students and, 253, 254-255; components of, 9; conceptual framework of, 7-9; coordinating school and district development in, 143-163; cross-fertilization of ideas and, 265-267; decision making and, 7; definitions of, 2-3; elements of, 7; focus on, 254, 255-256; history of, 6-7; impetus for, 4-6; implications of, 240-247; learning about from ongoing efforts, 251-270; legitimization of restructuring efforts and, 269-270; parental choice/voice and, 7, 8, 20, 115, 117, 121, 124-125, 252, 254; parents' roles in, 18-19; professional development and, 263-265; school-district connections in, ix; school/site-based management and, 7, 8, 20, 115, 117, 143, 145, 154, 191, 254; school-specific approach and, 254, 256; shared decision making and, 117; students' roles in, 12-14; sufficient material resources and, 262-263; support and, 257-270; teacher empowerment and, 8, 20, 115, 252, 252, 254; teacher professionalism and, 7; teachers' roles in, 14, 15-16; themes of, 9-19; through empowerment, 165-186; time and, 260-262; trust among school community members and, 267-268; ways of knowing about, 3-4; working structures and, 268-269; working systemically and, 254, 256-257

Restructuring, systemic, 188-214; observations on attempts at, 212-214; parents and, 204-208; principals and, 197-200; state-level officials and, 190-192; students and, 208-212; support team members and, 193-197; teachers and, 200-201

Restructuring movement, school, 1-22; definitions of, vii; issues of, vii

Scarborough Board of Education (Ontario, Canada), 148, 153, 163

School choice initiatives, ix

School districts: lessons for development of, 160-163; site-based management and, 143-147

Schooling, privatization of, 9

School planning, 220-224; administrators and, 221; teachers and, 221

Schools: comprehensive choice programs and, 10, 11; controlled choice plans and, 10, 11; deregulation of, 9, 11; environmental leadership in, 137-139; market forces in, 9

Schools, new: environmental pressures and, 235-240; liabilities of, 224-240; problems of creating culture in, 231-235; teachers' needs and, 224-240

Schools, open, 233

Schools, reforming: implications of, 240-247; professional cultures and, 216-248. *See also* Restructuring, school

Schools of choice, 20, 217, 227, 235; changing role of principal in, 114-141
Schools within schools, 217, 233
School themes, principal's role in implementing, 125-137
Self-managing schools, 20
Sequoia Valley School District (California), 146; school-based management in, 146-147
Shaw, A., 99, 100
Sizer, T., 33
Slavin, R., 94, 100
Spring Branch Independent School District (Houston), 63
Stanford University, 64; Satellite Center Project at, 81
Student-focused schools, 219-220
Success for All schools, ix, 4, 84-112, 254, 259, 262, 266; implementation issues over the long run for, 110-112; in Baltimore, 91-93; longevity of, 111; outcomes of, 90-110; program elements of, 86-90

University of Toronto, Faculty of Education, 148
Urban elementary schools, comprehensive restructuring of, 84-112

Voucher proposals, and schools, 10

Whittle, C., 10
Whittle Communications, 238

Restructuring Schooling
Learning From Ongoing Efforts

Editors:
Joseph Murphy, Philip Hallinger
Peabody College, Vanderbilt University

This volume brings together world-class researchers — among them Michael Fullan, Karen Seashore Louis, and Robert Slavin — to provide a fresh perspective on innovative restructuring programs. Its aim is to help educators everywhere make better decisions about their own efforts at change by "seeing" what has and hasn't worked in some of the most widely known experiments.

Because the programs these authors examine have been in place for several years, the cases offer richness of detail and a wealth of ideas not often found in studies of restructuring. It's a "second-generation" book that goes beyond the first blush of implementation.

Authors look at several critical issues, including changes in ...

- relationships between district and school
- roles and responsibilities for teachers and principals
- interactions between school and parents
- the teaching-learning process
- the basic fabric of schooling

The first and final chapters integrate the cases and the restructuring literature by finding the common threads and extracting the most important lessons for others engaged in restructuring efforts.

This book's insights and practical detail will benefit educators both in the schools and at the district level — as well as education faculty and students, especially those planning to assume leadership positions in the field.

ISBN 0-8039-6060-3 Hardcover
ISBN 0-8039-6061-1 Paperback

CORWIN PRESS, INC.
A Sage Publications Company
P.O. Box 2526
Newbury Park, CA 91319-8526
Corwin Press FaxLine: 1-805-499-0871